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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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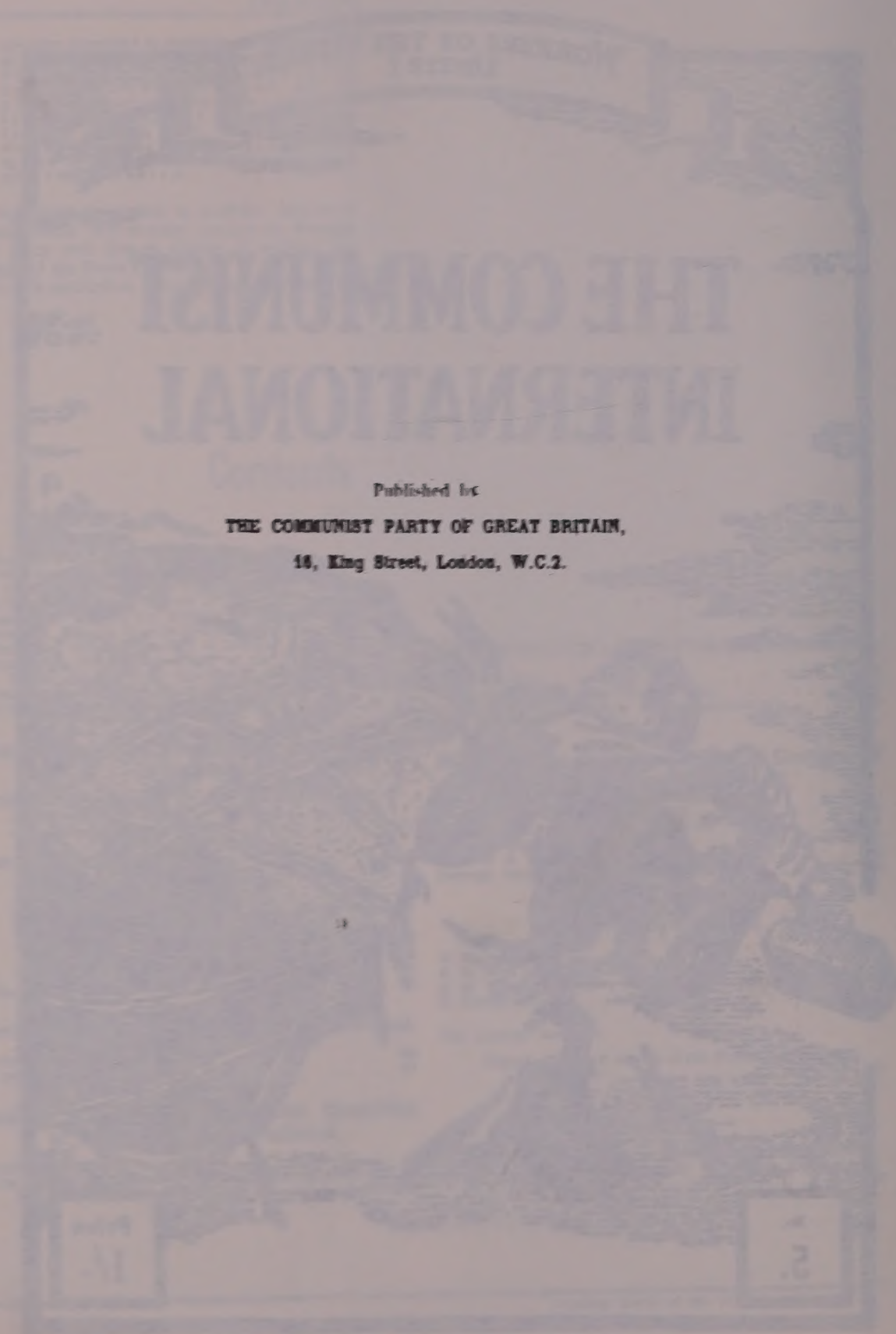
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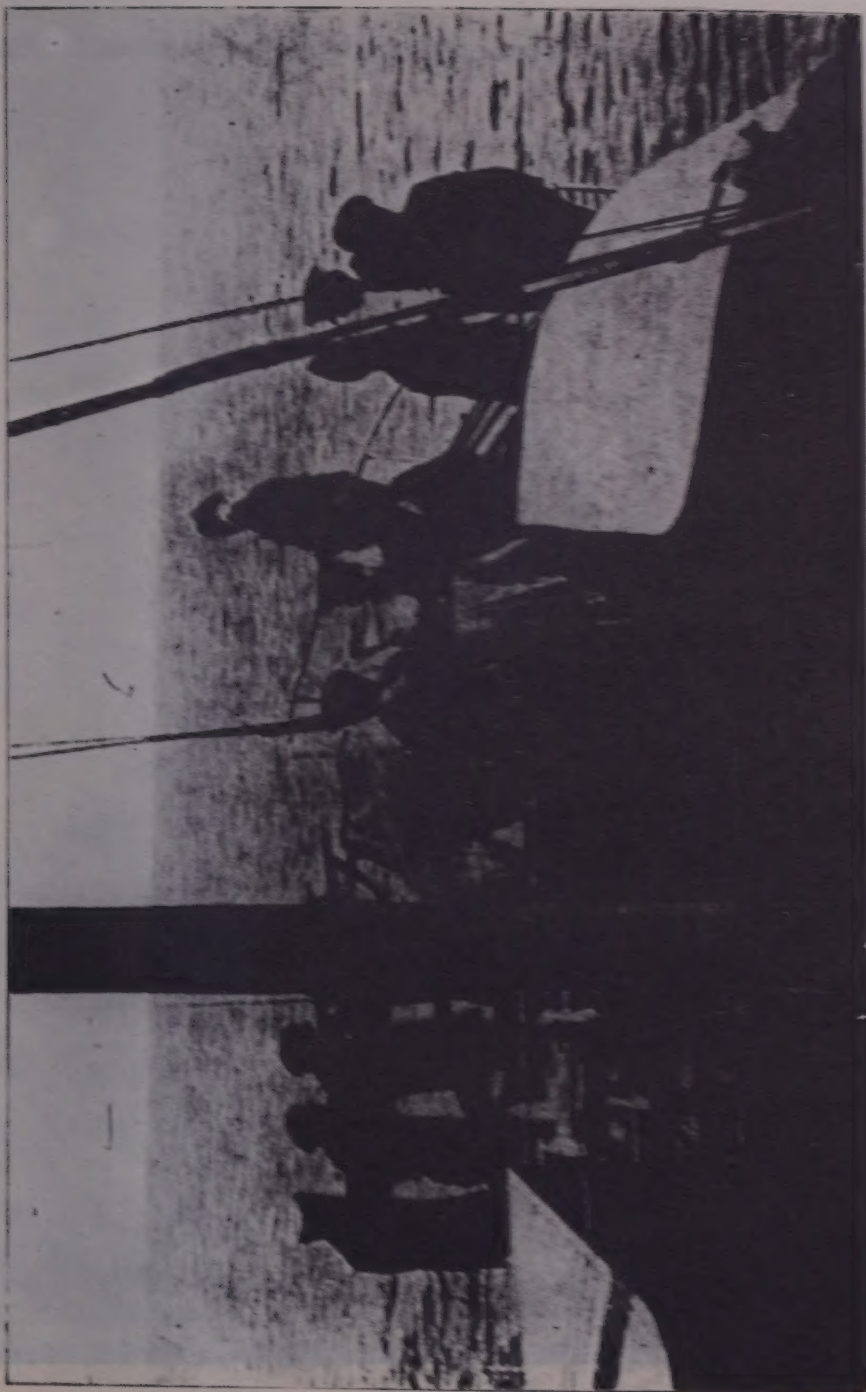
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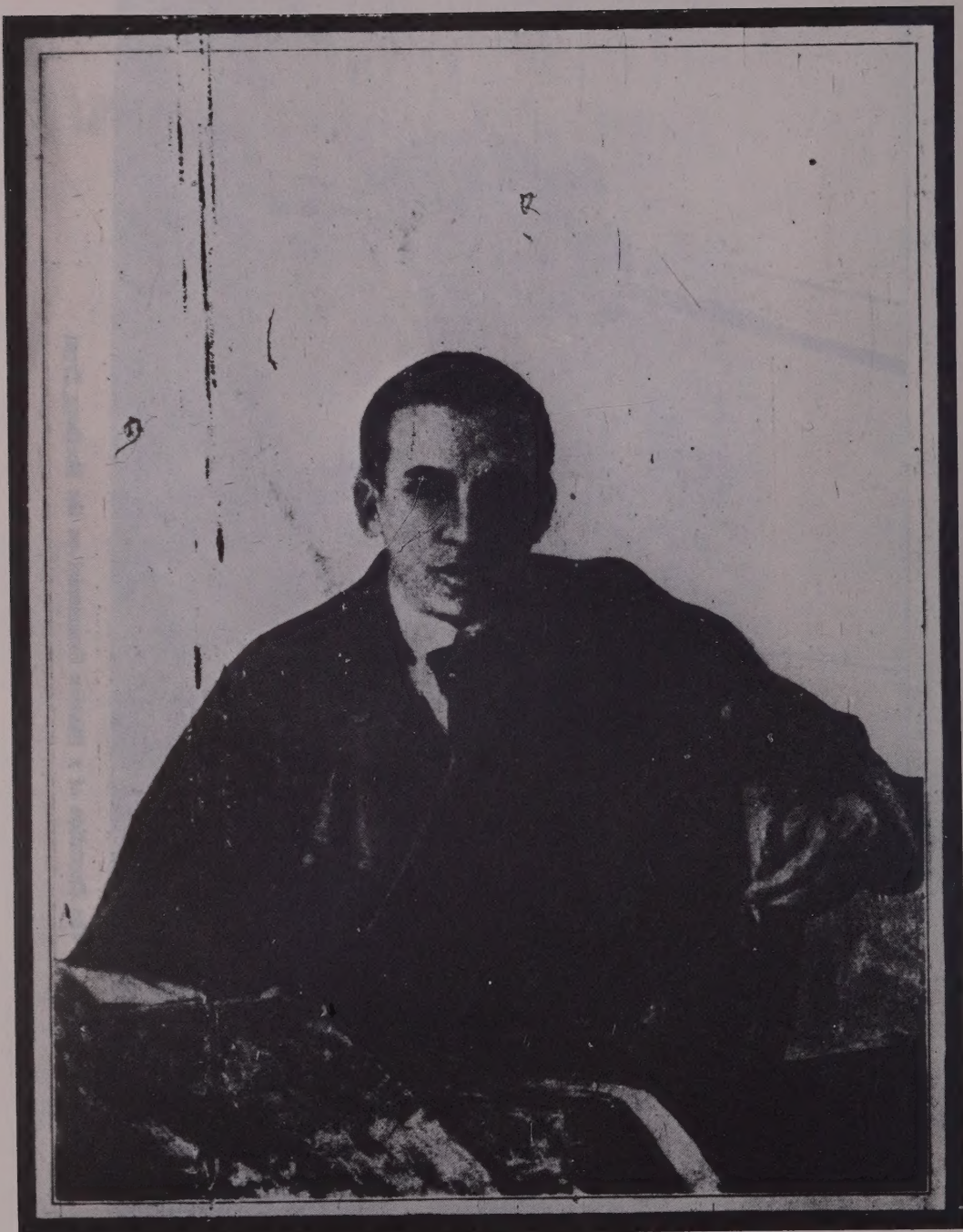
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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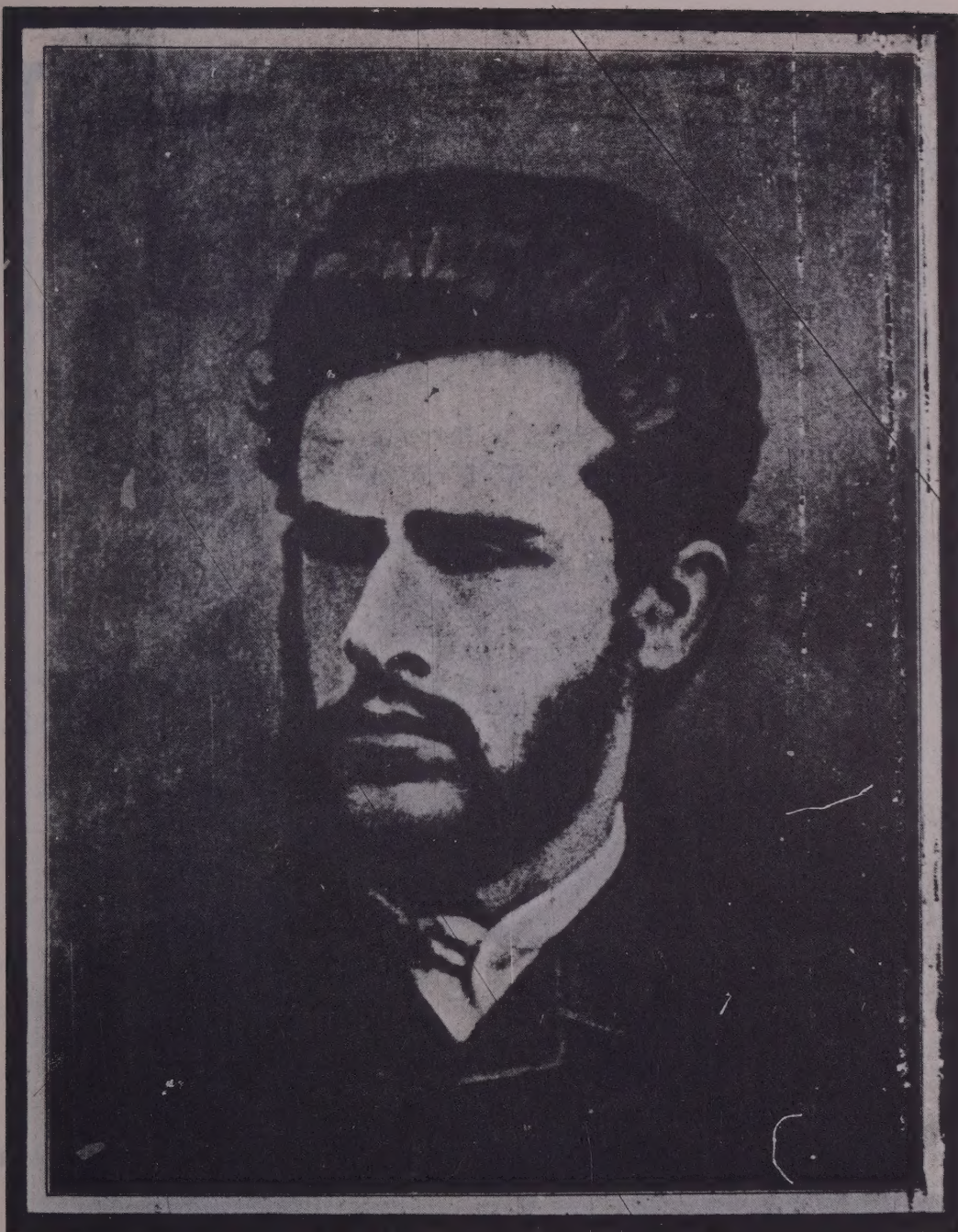




The Execution of a Russian Communist on the Northern Front.



-Portrait of Tybor Samuelli.



Portrait of Leon Tychko (Yogehes).



The Dead Body of Karl Liebknecht.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Organ of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

PUBLISHED IN RUSSIAN, FRENCH, GERMAN, AND ENGLISH.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

The Execution of a Russian Communist on the Northern Front.

Portrait of Tybor Samuelli.

Portrait of Leon Tychko (Yoghes).

The Dead Body of Karl Liebknecht.

ROSA LUXEMBURG.

Rosa Luxemburg was a woman of indomitable will. Severe self-control put a curb upon the mettlesome ardour of her temperament, veiling it beneath an outwardly reserved and calm demeanour. Mistress of herself, she was able to lead others. Her delicate sensitiveness had to be shielded from external influences. Her apparent coldness and strict reserve were the screen behind which was hidden a life of tender and deep feeling; a wealth of sympathy which did not stop short at man, but embraced all living things, and encircled the world as one united whole. Once in a while Red Rosa, weary and worn with work, would turn out of her way to pick up a stray caterpillar and replace it upon its appropriate leaf. Her compassionate heart warmed to human suffering and grew more tender as the years went by. Always did she find time to lend a willing ear to those who needed advice and help; often did she joyfully give up her own pleasure in order to succour those who came to her in their need. A severe task-mistress to herself, she treated her friends with an instinctive indulgence; their woes and their troubles were more poignant to her than her own. As a friend she was a model of both loyalty and love; of self-sacrifice and gentle solicitude. With what rare qualities was she endowed, this "resolute fanatic"! How pregnant with thought and vivacity was her intercourse with intimates! Her natural reserve and dignity had taught her to suffer in silence. Nothing unworthy had any existence for her. Small and delicate in body, Rosa was, nevertheless, consumed with an energy which was unrivalled. She made the most remorseless demands upon her own powers, of work, and she achieved positively astounding results. When it seemed that she must succumb to the exhaustion consequent upon her labours, she would embark upon another task demanding yet greater expenditure of vitality. Such endeavours were undertaken "in order to give myself a rest." Rarely was heard on her lips the phrase, "I cannot"; more frequently were heard the words, "I must." Her frail health and the unfavourable circumstances of her life did not lessen her vigour. Sorely tried by bodily infirmities, encompassed with difficulties, she remained true to herself. Her inward sense of freedom smoothed every obstacle from her path.

Comrade Mehring was right in affirming that Rosa Luxemburg was one of Marx's most perspicuous and intelligent followers. Gifted with

shrewdness and with complete independence of thought, she refused to accept any traditional formula on trust; she probed every idea, every fact, which thus acquired a special and personal value for her. She combined to a rare degree the power of logical deduction with an acute understanding of everyday life and its development. Her dauntless mind was not content merely to know Marx's teaching and to elucidate the master's doctrines. She undertook independent researches, and continued the work of creation which is the very essence of Marx's spirit. She possessed a remarkable capacity for lucid exposition, and could always find the aptest words wherewith to express her thoughts in all their plenitude. Rosa Luxemburg was never satisfied with the insipid and dry theoretical disquisitions so dear to the heart of our erudite Socialists. Her speech was brilliantly simple; it sparkled with wit and was full of mordant humour; it seemed to be the incarnation of enthusiasm, and revealed the breadth of her culture and the superabundant wealth of her inner life. She was a splendid theoretician of scientific Socialism, but had nothing in common with the paltry pedants who culled their wisdom from a few scientific works. Her thirst for knowledge was insatiable. Her receptive mind, her intuitive understanding, turned to nature and to art as to a wellspring of happiness and moral perfection.

Socialism was for Rosa Luxemburg a dominating passion which absorbed her whole life, a passion at once intellectual and ethical. The passion consumed her and was transformed into creative work. This rare woman had but one ambition, one task in life—to prepare for the revolution which was to open the way to Socialism. Her greatest joy, her dream, was to live to see the revolution, to take her share in its struggles. Rosa Luxemburg gave to Socialism all she had to give; no words can express the strength of will, the disinterestedness and the devotion, with which she served the cause. She offered up her life on the altar of Socialism, alone in death, but in the long days of her labours, the hours, the weeks and the years consecrated to the fight. Thus has she acquired the right to demand of others that they, too, shall sacrifice themselves all for Socialism—everything, life not excepted. She was the sword, she was the fire, of the revolution. Rosa Luxemburg will remain one of the great figures in the history of international Socialism.

CLARA ZETKIN

How the Bourgeoisie makes Use of Renegades.

Our wireless intercepts messages from Carguaron (Wales), from Paris, and from other European stations. Paris is now the centre of the international union of imperialists, and for this reason the wireless messages from Paris are often peculiarly interesting. Within the last few days, on September 13, a wireless from the metropolis of world imperialism announced to all and sundry the publication of a new book against Bolshevism penned by the notorious renegade, Karl Kautsky, leader of the Second International.

The millionaires and the milliardaires intend to make a good use of the wireless apparatus at the disposal of their respective governments. They wish to enlighten the whole world concerning Kautsky's new campaign. They grasp at anything that turns up to help them in fighting the rising flood of Bolshevism. They grasp at straws, even at Kautsky's book! We are deeply indebted to the French millionaires. Their aid to Bolshevik propaganda is of unparalleled value. Of enormous use to us has been the advertisement they have given to the paltry and petty-bourgeois fulminations of Kautsky against the Bolsheviks.

To-day, September 18, I have received the "Vorwaerts" of August 7. This organ of the German Socialist jingoes, of the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, contains an article by Friedrich Stampfer on Kautsky's new book, (**Terrorism and Communism**). The article contains numerous extracts from the book, and a comparison of this issue of "Vorwaerts" with the Paris wireless suggests that Stampfer's article was the basis of the Paris message. Scheidemann and Noske, bodyguards of the German bourgeoisie and executioners of German Communists, sing the praises of Kautsky's book, and make common cause with the allied imperialists in attacking international communism. What an edifying spectacle! Our Mensheviks, typical representatives of the Yellow International of Betts! cannot find words strong enough to express their indignation because, in my book, **The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Karl Kautsky**, I spoke of Kautsky as a lackey of the bourgeoisie.

That is what Kautsky actually is, gentlemen, despite your anger. Scheidemann and Company in "Vorwaerts" and the allied millionaires in their wireless message did not consult with me before singing Kautsky's praises or before deciding to make him their champion against world-wide Bolshevism. Kautsky may not have realised what he is, but his actual relations with the bourgeoisie make of him precisely what I have said.

That I may show how far he has gone, while still flying the Marxist flag, in his repudiation of Socialism and the revolution, let me quote some of the gravest accusations levelled by Kautsky against the Bolsheviks.

Stampfer writes: "Kautsky gives detailed proof that, in the long run, the Bolsheviks invariably succeed in doing the reverse of what they set out to do. They opposed the death penalty, and in actual practice they shoot people wholesale."

Now, in the first place, it is absolutely false to assert that the Bolsheviks opposed the death penalty in time of revolution. In 1903, when Bolshevism first came into existence at the second congress of the Social Democratic Party, the Party programme was being drawn up. In the report of the congress we read that the idea of including in the programme a proposal for the abolition of capital punishment aroused ironical comments: "Is Nicholas II to be exempt?" Even the Mensheviks, in 1903, did not venture to risk a vote upon the abolition of capital punishment as far as the Tsar was concerned. In 1917, during the Kerensky regime, I wrote in "Pravda" that no revolutionary government could dispense with capital punishment.

The whole question was, I said, against which class is the weapon of capital punishment used by this Government or by that? So completely has Kautsky lost the faculty of revolutionary thought, so hopelessly has he surrendered to a mean opportunism, that it seems to him inconceivable that a proletarian revolutionary party should, long before the day of victory, have frankly recognised that death sentences would have to be passed on counter-revolutionaries. The scrupulous Kautsky, man of honour and honest opportunist, does not hesitate to lie about his opponents.

In the second place, if this man had possessed the most elementary understanding of the revolution, he could not have forgotten that we were not concerned with revolution in general, but with a revolution that issued out of the great Imperialist massacre. Is it conceivable that the proletarian revolution, arising out of such a war, could take place without counter-revolutionary attempts on the part of tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of officers belonging to the proprietary and capitalist classes? Is it conceivable that a revolutionary party of the working class, having to contend with a fierce civil war, faced with bourgeois plots invoking the aid of foreign troops against the Government, should fail to enforce the death penalty upon conspirators? Except for a few incurable and preposterous pedants, Kautsky knew that a question

like this must be formulated in a definite historic setting. To-day, seemingly, he has forgotten the fact.

Thirdly, even if Kautsky did not know how to study his subject, if he were determined to lie about the Bolsheviks, if he had forgotten how to think and even how to consider the specific issues of a particular revolution (the outcome of four years of war), Kautsky might at least have observed what was taking place near at hand. What do we learn from the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg by army officers in the German Democratic Republic? What do we learn from the escape of the officers who had subsequently been sentenced to scandalously light punishment for the murders? Herr Kautsky, in conjunction with all his Independent Party (independent of the proletariat, but extremely dependent upon bourgeois prejudices), replies to such question by complaints; abuse, groans, and philistine lamentations. But this is the very reason why, throughout the world, the revolutionary workers are more and more definitely detaching themselves from such as Kautsky, Longuet, MacDonald, and Turati, are flocking to the Communist camp—for the revolutionary proletariat seeks a victory over the counter-revolution, and is not content with the unmeaning "condemnation" of the counter-revolution.

Fourthly, the question of terrorism would seem to be the fundamental question which Kautsky treats in his book. The title shows it. The words used by Stampfer show it likewise. He says—"Kautsky is unquestionably right in affirming that the basic principle of the Commune was not terrorism but universal suffrage." In my book, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, I have adduced abundant evidence to show that such discussion on a "basic principle" is a mockery of Marxism. Here I have another task. To show the value of Kautsky's reasoning on terrorism, to show whom this reasoning will serve and what class it will profit, I shall reproduce in full a letter from a liberal source. It was addressed to the editor of "The New Republic," an American Liberal periodical, and was published in the issue of June 25, 1919. The general outlook of this organ is petit-bourgeois, but it shines by comparison with the writings of such men as Kautsky in that it does not pretend to be Revolutionary Socialist or Marxist.

"MANNERHEIM AND KOLTCHAK"

"To the Editor of the New Republic.

"Sir,—The Allied Governments have refused to recognise the Russian Soviet Government. The following reasons are given for this refusal:—

"1. The Soviet Government is, or has been, Germanophil.

"2. The Soviet Government maintains its power by terrorism.

"3. The Soviet Government is undemocratic, and does not represent the Russian people.

"Nevertheless, the Allied Governments long ago recognised the White Government of Finland under

the dictatorship of General Mannerheim, though it is evident that:—

"1. German troops have helped the White Guards to crush the Socialist Republic of Finland, and General Mannerheim has sent the German Emperor many telegrams expressing his gratitude and respect. Whereas the Soviet Government, during this period, was undermining the power of the German Government by vigorous propaganda on the Eastern front, the Finnish Government was enormously more Germanophil than the Russian Government.

"The extant Government of Finland, immediately after attaining power, within a few days executed by cold blood 16,700 citizens of the Socialist Republic, and confined no less than 70,000 others in concentration camps, where they were doomed to perish by starvation. On the other hand, the total number of executions in Russia during the year prior to November 1, 1918, is shown by official figures to have been no more than 3,800. Among those executed were many Soviet officials convicted of taking bribes, etc., and treated on the same footing as the counter-revolutionaries. The Finnish Government was far more terroristic than the Russian Government.

"3. Having killed and arrested 90,000 Socialists, and having driven nearly 50,000 across the Russian frontier—it must be remembered that Finland is a little country containing barely 400,000 electors—the White Government considered that it would be safe to hold a Parliamentary election. Notwithstanding all possible precautions, a Socialist majority was elected. General Mannerheim, however, like the Allies at Vladivostok, declared that all the returns of Socialists were invalid. The Soviet Government had disfranchised those only who did no useful work for their daily bread. The Finnish Government proved far less democratic.

"Exactly similar is the case of the notorious champion of democracy and order, Admiral Koltchak, who reigns at Omsk. But the Allied Governments have supported Koltchak, have furnished him with food and munitions, and are about to grant him official recognition.

"Thus all the arguments which the Allies adduce against recognising the Soviet Government may be applied with much more force and honesty against the recognition of Mannerheim and Koltchak. But Mannerheim and Koltchak secure recognition, whilst the blockade is tightened round a Russia dying of hunger."

"Washington.

STUART CHASE."

This letter from a bourgeois Liberal effectively unmasks the trickery and treason of such Socialism as is professed by Kautsky, Martov, Chernenov, Branting, and the other heroes of the Yellow International of Berne.

In the first place, Kautsky and all these giants lie concerning Russia and the Soviets when they refer to terrorism and democracy. Secondly, they estimate events, not from the outlook of the class struggle, which is now being waged the world over and in the intensest form; but they estimate events from the outlook of petty bourgeois dreams of what might happen if bourgeois democracy were not fast bound to capitalism, if the world had never heard of White Guards, if the White Guards were not supported by the international bourgeoisie; and so on, and so on. In the third place, when we compare Stuart Chase's letter with Kautsky's arguments, it is obvious that Kautsky's role is to act as humble servitor of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisies of the world support Mannerheim and Koltchak, their aim being to overthrow the power of the Soviet Government under the customary pretext that the Soviet Government is terrorist and anti-democratic. These are facts. Now Kautsky, Martov, Chernov, and all of that ilk, when they intone their little couplet on terrorism and democracy, are merely the choir-boys of the bourgeoisie. It is to the strains of this very song that the international bourgeoisie marches in its attempt to destroy the Workers' Revolution. The personal honesty of the "Socialists" who, owing to their extreme stupidity, sing such a song, their "sincerity," however great, cannot affect the objective significance of what they are doing. Kautsky, Martov, and Longuet, the "honest opportunists," have become, through their utter want of stamina, "honest" counter-revolutionaries.

Such is the fact.

An American Liberal, without any preliminary study of Socialist theory, but quite simply, through watching events upon a sufficiently large scale, is able to understand that the bourgeoisie of the whole world is organising civil war against the revolutionary proletariat. The American Liberal is able to understand why the bourgeoisie of the world supports Koltchak and Denikin in Russia, and Mannerheim in Finland; why it supports the Georgian Mensheviks, the devoted servants of the bourgeoisie, in the Caucasus; why it supports the imperialists and men of the Kerenski type in Poland, Scheidemann and company in Germany, the counter-revolutionaries (Mensheviks and capitalists) in Hungary, etc., etc.

But Kautsky, worthy petit-bourgeois reactionary, fills the air with lamentations, complains of the horrors of civil war. Not merely does he display a total lack of revolutionary understanding and historical realism (for it is surely not difficult to recognise how inevitable it was that the Imperialist war should be transformed into civil war). Further than this, Kautsky is literally singing the song of the bourgeoisie, is literally taking sides with the bourgeoisie. In actual fact, Kautsky is on the side of the bourgeoisie in this civil war which has already begun, and which is apparently destined to spread through the whole world.

As a theoretician Kautsky makes use of all this noise, of these cries, these tears, this hysteria on account of civil war, to conceal his own blunders. For the Bolsheviks were right when, as early as the autumn of 1914, they prophesied that the Imperialist war would be transformed into a civil war. Reactionaries of all shades were angered at this contention, or scoffed at it; but time has shown that the Bolshevik view was the true one. Now, in order to conceal his defeat, his paucity of insight, his short-sightedness, Kautsky endeavours to terrify the petit bourgeois by bewailing the horrors of civil war. Such is the policy he pursues.

Let us see to what absurdities he is led by this policy. There is no ground, he says, for enter-

prising any hope of a world-wide revolution. Contemplate his arguments! A revolution in Europe, in imitation of that which has occurred in Russia, would involve, it seems, "the unloosing (Entfesselung) of civil war throughout the world for an entire generation." It would not be the climax of the existing class struggle, but "a fratricidal struggle between proletarians." The phrases are admirably quoted by Stampfer as the actual words of Kautsky.

It is natural that Scheidemann's henchmen, Scheidemann's executioners, should be filled with delight by such phrases. The "Socialist leader" brandishes the spectre of revolution before the masses, and thus frightens the masses away from revolution. But the joke of the matter is that Kautsky has overlooked one point. For nearly two years the Allies, whose power extends to the uttermost ends of the earth, have been making war against Russia, thus fostering revolution in Russia. Were the revolution to begin at this moment, were such a revolution to be merely in the conciliatory stage, it would be it but in one or two of the greater European countries, civil war in Russia would not ensue, and hundreds of millions of men would not be freed in the colonies, where discontent and rebellion are hatching, and are repressed only by the brute force of Europe.

Quite apart from the serenity he has displayed throughout the imperialist war, Kautsky is now plainly influenced by an additional motive. He has become alarmed by the long continuance of the civil war in Russia. So frightened is he, that he is unable to perceive that the bourgeoisie everywhere is making war on Russia. A revolution in one or two of the greater countries of Western Europe would break the power of the bourgeoisie once for all; bourgeois dominion would be cut off at the root; it would no longer find any harbour of refuge.

In reality, revolutionists the world over are filled with hope, because the international bourgeoisie has for two years been waging war against the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, for this proves that the hour of world-wide victory is at hand.

As for the civil war "between proletarians," we have heard of this already from Chernov and Martov. A striking example will enable us to grasp the contemptible character of the argument. During the great French Revolution, a section of the French peasantry, the people of La Vendée, fought for the king against the republic. In June 1849, and in May, 1871, there were workers among the troops of Cavaignac and of Gallifet respectively; there were workers among those who strangled the revolution. What would you say of a man, who should declare—"I deplore the civil war between the French peasants in 1792," or "I deplore the civil war between the French workers in 1849 and in 1871"? You would say that he was a hypocritical advocate of the reaction, of the monarchy, of Cavaignac.

And you would be right.

One who fails to understand that what is now happening in Russia, what is germinating everywhere, is the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, must be little better than an idiot. There never has been and never will be a class struggle in which part of the forward class failed and will fail to take the side of the reaction. The same thing is true of the civil war. Some of the more retrograde among the workers come to the aid of the bourgeoisie for a season. But only knaves will make use of this fact to justify their own desertion to the bourgeoisie.

In the theoretical field we discern here a wish not to understand that which, since 1914, all the facts of the history of the working-class movement, the world over, have been crying aloud to heaven. Everywhere, in the autumn of 1914, a rift occurred between the little "peaks" of the working class, between those who had been corrupted by a middle-class environment and by opportunism, who had been bribed by comfortable and respectable situations and by other largesse from the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the real working class on the other. During the years from 1915 to 1918 this rift widened into a permanent fissure. Kautsky, failing to perceive this historical fact, and accusing the Communists of having made the fissure, demonstrates for the thousandth time that he is the lackey of the bourgeoisie.

For forty years, from 1852 to 1892, Marx and Engels never ceased to speak of the way in which certain sections of the proletariat (to wit, the peaks, the "leaders," the "aristocracy of labour"), certain sections of the working class in England, were being corrupted by middle-class influences. This change was correlated with the colonial and monopolistic advantages of Great Britain. It was a natural development that, in the twentieth century, Imperialist monopolies should bring about in many other countries a situation identical with that which obtains in England. In all the more advanced countries we witness corruption, venality, a passing over into the bourgeois camp on the part of working-class leaders, the aforesaid "peaks." They are attracted to the new camp by the blandishments of the bourgeoisie, which offers easy jobs, allows them to enjoy the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, while simultaneously transferring the burden of less highly-paid labour to the rest of the workers, and thus increasing the privileges of the "aristocracy of the working class."

The war of 1914 to 1918 has proved beyond question the existence of treason within the Socialist ranks. The desertion to the bourgeoisie on the part of the leaders of the proletariat, the desertion of all the Jingo Socialists, of men like Gompers, Branting, Renaudel, MacDonald, Scheidemann, etc., in conjunction with the inertia of the labouring masses, have as their natural result that the workers incline for a time to follow in the footsteps of the bourgeois riff-raff.

Moreover, the Berne International, that of Huysmans, Vandervelde, Scheidemann, and Co., has now been definitely formed; it is the Yellow International of those who have betrayed Socialism. Unless we fight them, unless we break with them, there can be no question of any genuine Socialism, of any honest work to bring about the social revolution.

Let the German Independents try to sit between two stools; they are fated to make this endeavour. Scheidemann's men take Kautsky to their hearts; Stamper cries it on the housetops, making of Kautsky, Scheidemann's authenticated associate. Yet Hilferding, another "Independent," and friend to Kautsky, proposes at Lucerne to expel the Scheidemann group from the International. It need hardly be said that the real leaders of the Yellow International merely laugh at Citizen Hilferding. His proposal was either the last extremity of folly or the last refuge of hypocrisy. To claim that one belongs to the "left" of the working-class movement, and at the same time to keep a snug little nest in the International of the servitors of the bourgeoisie! However we may explain the behaviour of such a leader as Hilferding, one thing is certain, that as far as the proletarian masses are concerned, the wobbling of the "Independents," and the servility of the Scheidemanns, the Brantings, and the Vanderveldes, will not fail to bring about an increasing alienation from these renegade leaders. For a considerable period Imperialism can sow division among the workers of certain countries. England is a conspicuous example. But unity among the revolutionaries, unity between the masses and the revolutionaries, the exclusion of blacklegs, make irresistible strides forward. This is proved by the remarkable progress of the Communist International. The Communist Party already exists in the United States. In Paris the Committee for the Resumption of International Relations and the Committee for the Defence of Trade Unionism support the Third International. Two periodicals defend it: "L'Internationale" of Raymond Péricat, and "Titre Censuré" (presumably "Le Bolshevik") of Georges Anquetil. In England there will shortly be founded a Communist Party, comprising the best elements of British Socialism, of the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards' movement, and of the revolutionary workers in general. The Socialists of the Swedish left, the Norwegian Social Democrats, the Dutch Communists, the Swiss and the Italian Socialists, have already taken their stand beside the German Spartacists and the Russian Bolsheviks.

During these few months of 1919 the Communist International has become a universal international, marshalling the forces of those who are irreconcilably hostile to the traitors of Socialism and to the yellow brotherhood of Berne and Lucerne.

Let us pause to consider a peculiarly instructive piece of news, one which throws a striking light upon the part played by the opportunist leaders.

At Lucerne last August, during the sittings of the conference of the Blackleg Socialists, there were issued special editions of "La Feuille," a Geneva newspaper, giving reports and news in a number of languages. The English edition (No. 1, Wednesday, August 6) published an interview with Troelstra, the well-known leader of the Dutch opportunists. Troelstra spoke as follows:-

"The German revolution of November 9 made a great stir in the political organisations and Trade Unions of Holland. In Dutch governmental circles panic prevailed for several days, the trouble being all the more serious seeing that at this time there was widespread discontent in the army.

"The burgomasters of Rotterdam and The Hague sought the aid of the Town Councils of these cities, hoping to make of them a counter-revolutionary force. A committee armed of veteran generals, among whom was an elderly officer proud of his share in crushing the Boxer rising in China, undertook to confuse the minds of the soldiers and to arm them against the revolution. It was natural that efforts of such a nature should have the very opposite result from that desired by the promoters. In Rotterdam it seemed to us that a Workers' Soviet was about to be formed. But the leaders of the political and Trade Union organisations were of opinion that the time for such measures had not yet arrived. They contented themselves with drawing up a minimum programme of working-class demands and with issuing a striking appeal to the masses."

Such are the words of Troelstra. He added many other boasts, referring to the revolutionary speeches he had made, alluding to his advocacy of the seizure of power, declaring that he recognised the inadequacy of parliamentarism and political democracy, reaffirming his opinion that in transitional periods it would be requisite to have recourse to "unconstitutional methods" of struggle and to the "dictatorship of the proletariat," etc.

Troelstra is typical of the venal and opportunist leaders who serve the bourgeoisie and humbug the workers. As far as words go he accepts Soviets; he accepts the dictatorship of the proletariat; he accepts anything you please. But in actual fact he is one of the vilest of those who betray the working class, one of the most unscrupulous of the agents of the bourgeoisie. In actual fact he was the leader of those "political organisations and Trade Unions of Holland" which saved the Dutch bourgeoisie by rallying to its support at the critical moment.

The facts of which Troelstra speaks are perfectly clear. The army had been mobilised. The proletariat was under arms; the army included the poor classes of the population. The German revolution had aroused intense enthusiasm among the workers and had led to an "almost universal

recalcitrancy throughout the army." It was the unmistakable duty of revolutionary leaders to lead the masses to revolution. They had no right to miss their chance and throw away the hour when the arming of the workers and the influence of the German revolution would have brought about a decisive turn in events.

But the leaders betrayed their following. The leaders, headed by Troelstra, deserted to the bourgeoisie. The workers were drenched with reforms, and above all with promises of reforms, with "stirring appeals" and revolutionary phraseology; they were duped. It was such as Troelstra, it was leaders of his kind, members of the Second International of Berne and Lucerne, who helped the bourgeoisie to demobilise the army, thus saving the capitalists.

The working-class movement will go on its own way, ridding itself of traitors and turn-coats, of Troelstras and Kautsky, of all its "respectable" leaders, who, fooling the masses, are really playing the capitalists' game.

N. LENIN.

September 20, 1919.

P.S. As far as can be learned from Stampfer's review, Kautsky preserves a discreet silence as to the Soviet system of government. Is it possible that, in this crucial matter, he has abandoned his previous position? Has he renounced the stupidities he penned upon the subject in his booklet, **The Dictatorship of the Proletariat?** Did it seem to him preferable to ignore essentials and to confine his attention to matters of secondary importance? We shall be able to answer these questions when we have read his new book for ourselves.

EDITORIAL NOTE. At Helsingfors, under the aegis of General Mannerheim, the Russian White Guards publish a newspaper entitled "Novaya Zhizn," which circulates in Yudenich's army.

The issue of September 23, 1919 (No. 168), in a leading article, praises Kautsky's new book in the following terms:-

"Karl Kautsky, a member of the Socialist Left, has just published **Terrorism and Bolshevism**, a work in which the true character of those 'who have ruined the Socialist Labour movement' is expounded with all the erudition we expect from this author. 'The Bolsheviks,' writes Kautsky, 'have borrowed from the Paris Commune its inexorable terrorism, while rejecting its democratic and humanitarian spirit. The terror annihilates the revolutionary energy of the masses. Paying the way for reaction, it leads to the overthrow of democratic power established upon the popular will. This is what happened in the case of Robespierre; this is what will happen in the case of the Bolsheviks. The Soviet system is based upon the destruction of democracy and of all the principles essential to democracy: the power of the people, freedom, independent action. Bolshevism can achieve nothing but the reverse of that at which it aims.'"

Here we have the philosopher of the Second International supplying the ideology that will serve the turn of counter-revolutionary Russian generals! Can a Socialist plunge into a deeper abyss?

Letter to the French Communists.

To Comrade P. Mollat.

To Comrade Lorient.

To Comrade Péricat.

To Comrade Rosmer.

Dear Friends,

I write to you in especial, and by name, for the reason that I am bound to you by the ties of personal friendship; and I write to you in common because we are all united under the same flag by the ideas we share. Despite the blockade by which Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and their kind are endeavouring to throw Europe back into the barbarism of the Middle Ages, we in Russia follow your work with close attention, and are aware of the growth of Revolutionary Communism in France. To me it comes ever and again as a fresh delight when I learn that you, dear friends, are in the first rank of this movement which is to regenerate Europe and mankind.

At this hour the Soviet Republic is passing through a period when all its forces are strained to the uttermost, in the hope of putting a final term to the armed attacks upon the proletarian revolution. During the last two months we have had serious reverses on the southern front, for the most part in Ukraine. Yet I am able to assure you that the Soviet Republic is now stronger than ever.

We have foiled Koltchak. The Russian and foreign bourgeoisie, including the French bourgeoisie, hoped to crown Koltchak in the Kremlin, to crown him with the crown of the autocrats. His troops were approaching the Volga. These forces have now been defeated and dispersed. Between the beginning of May and the end of August the Red Army on our eastern front has fought its way through an advance of more than six hundred miles. The Ural region, with its industries and its proletarian population, has been restored to the Soviet Republic. We have thus created a second base for the work of the Communist revolution.

The defeat of Koltchak's army has enabled us to concentrate our forces and our reserves on the southern front against General Denikin. Quite recently we have been able to assume the offensive along the whole southern front. This offensive has already given good results. In directions of the first importance the enemy has withdrawn from sixty to seventy miles. We have men and munitions sufficient to complete our victory over Denikin, to crush once for all the counter-revolution in the south.

There remains our western front, which has but a third-rate importance upon the strategic map of the revolution. In this region the Polish gentry may obtain transient successes as marauders. But the temporary advance of the insignificant Polish forces

causes us little alarm. When we have made an end of Denikin, as we shall have done ere long, we shall throw extensive reserves upon our western front. We learn from the newspapers that Winston Churchill boasts of having mobilised fourteen nations against Russia. These fourteen nations are geographical names merely; they are not fourteen armies. Denikin and Koltchak would have greatly preferred the aid of fourteen good army corps to the assistance of these fourteen allies. Happily, however, neither Clemenceau nor Lloyd George is any longer in a position to send army corps to Russia, and the credit for their inability must doubtless be given to you.

My mind goes back to the opening days of the war, when Messrs. Renaudel, Jouhaux and Co. were predicting that the victory of France and England would be the victory of western democracy, the triumph of the principle of nationalities, and so on. With you we looked contemptuously upon these petit-bourgeois illusions, evened as they were with Imperialist charlatanism.

Jean Longuet and his group imagined that the march of history could be rectified by means of a Renaudelesque policy, with annotations, reservations and equivocations. The result of their activities was a complete unmasking of the loathsome falsehood of patriotic Socialism as advocated by Renaudel and his allies. Imperialist France was shown to be the bulwark of the counter-revolution throughout the world. In the intoxication of victory, the traditions of the great French Revolution, the cast-off clothing of democratic ideology, republican phraseology—all have been pressed into service to support and reinforce the position of capital against the rising tide of the social revolution.

While France has become the mainstay of the capitalist counter-revolution, the Renaudel trend turns out to be a force even more reactionary than that of clericalism. Now Renaudel is inconceivable without Longuet. Renaudel is too outspoken, too straightforward, too cynical, as a social reactionary. Jean Longuet, who in all fundamental points maintains the intangibility of the capitalist order, devotes the best of his strength and his ability to masking this undertaking in the rites and ceremonies of the Socialist and Internationalist cult. As for Merrheim, I am not surprised at his going over to the enemy. In the opening days of the war Merrheim, instead of marching boldly beside us limped painfully in the rear. This is a time when

we would rather have avowed foes than doubtful friends.

In Russia, at the critical hour, men of this type almost all took their stand on the wrong side of the barricade. Their treason towards the cause of the workers was wrapped up in the phrases of "democracy." We have seen and have shown that in the days of the social revolution the formulas and the ritual of bourgeois democracy are no less deceptive than were the formulas and the ritual of international law during the progress of the Imperialist war. When two classes whose interests are irreconcilable have engaged in a decisive struggle, there is no place for an arbiter who would like to settle their differences. Discarding the conventional lie of parliamentary democracy, we have created the true democracy of the working class in the form of the Soviets. Soviet Russia has summoned millions of workers and peasants to co-operate in the building of the new life. Amid unprecedented difficulties the toiling masses of Russia have created their Red Army. On all the battlefields its leaders are the proletarians of Petrograd and Moscow. The peasants of the Ural region, those of Siberia, of the Don, and of Ukraine, welcome this army as a liberator. In the freed areas the commissaries of our battalions are the bearers of Communist culture, the constructors of the new life.

If we have not as yet got the better of our economic difficulties in the way of food supply, this is solely because the energies and the leading resources of the country are monopolised by the

war which British and French capitalism has savagely imposed on us. We hope that in the course of the next few months we shall be able to make an end of our enemies. All our strength, all the resources of the country, all our enthusiasm, all the ardour of the advance guard of the proletariat, will then be devoted to the work of economic reconstruction.

We shall put an end to the economic disorganisation of the country and to the deficiencies of the food supply, just as we have finished with Kolchak and just as we are about to finish with Denikin. In the Siberian steppes and on the highways of Turkestan our victorious battalions sustain the revolutionary enthusiasm of the oppressed peoples of Asia. We do not doubt for a moment that the hour is at hand when decisive help will come to us from the west; we do not doubt that the social revolution is imminent throughout Europe.

The more brutal the triumph of militarism, of vandalism, and of the traitors to Socialism in bourgeois France, the fiercer will be the proletarian revolt, the more vigorous will be its tactics, the more overwhelming its victory.

We shall never forget you, dear friends, either in our temporary reverses or in our ultimate success. We know that the cause of Communism is entrusted to hands that are honest and strong.

Long live revolutionary and proletarian France!
Long live the universal social revolution!

L. TROTSKI

Petrograd, September 1, 1919



The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and the World Revolution

(CONCLUSION.)

In the first part of this article, which appeared in No. 4 of "The Communist International," we examined two questions: that of the "cost of the revolution"; and that of the world-wide character of the revolution. We came to the conclusion that every revolution (and, above all, the proletarian revolution, which effects a radical modification in social relationships) is inevitably associated with a temporary decline in the forces of production. This is part of the destructive work of the revolution. A revolution always costs something, and only at this price can be secured the ultimate development of the forces of production. On the other hand, the real expansion of the forces of production cannot begin until the proletariat has been victorious in a number of great States. This is why in Russia, where foreign capital and our own counter-revolution control the supplies of fuel and other important raw materials, the proletariat has been unable, despite considerable improvements in organisation, to effect any notable increase in production. It is therefore essential that the revolution should develop upon a world-wide scale. It is indispensable that there should be formed a powerful economic union between advanced manufacturing countries and Soviet Russia.

III.

COMMUNISM IN THE DOMAINS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION.

Our critics in the "Socialist" camp often censure the Soviet Government on the ground that the "official Communism" of the Bolsheviks is nothing more than a communism of distribution. The Soviet power, say these critics, has merely effected a universal dividing-up; it has shared out housing accommodation, furniture, clothing, food, etc. On the other hand, the chief task of true Communism should be the organisation of production. The Bolsheviks, we are told, think chiefly of organising distribution. By degrees they transform the proletariat, which has hitherto been a class of producers, into a non-working class (idle owing to lack of fuel and other raw materials) pensioned by the State. The proletariat becomes a social stratum resembling the proletariat of classical Rome, supported by doles.

How much truth is there in all this and how much falsehood? What should be the relationship, from a Marxist outlook, between the Communism of production and the Communism of distribution?

It is obviously impossible to deny that the Soviet

Government has taken various steps in the direction of expropriation, not merely of the means of production but likewise of the means of distribution. Typical instances of such measures are the installation of the workers and their organisations in bourgeois dwelling-houses; and rationing by class, that is to say, the assigning of larger food rations to members of the proletariat. But only one who is absolutely ignorant of the specific conditions in which the international revolution is developing could possibly maintain that these measures are unjust. Marxism is founded upon the theory of the increase of productive forces in human society. As we have shown in the previous article, it does not follow that we need dread a transient decline in the forces of production, a decline which is absolutely inevitable in the course of the revolution. By parity of reasoning, our chief aim, the organisation of production, may require, as a stage in its fulfilment, the Communism of distribution to which our critics refer.

The revolution, as a historical fact, has originated amid the overwhelming devastation resulting from the imperialist war. As everyone knows, this devastation has in large part taken the form of the destruction of enormous reserves of productive forces. Now what do these productive forces, which are the foundations of all progress, represent in the world of concrete reality? In part they are the means of production, and in part they are the labour power of the workers. The productive forces do not consist of machines merely, but in addition they consist of the workers, the working class. Marx has shown more than once that in contemporary society the proletariat is the most important of all the forces of production. It is easy to understand that if the revolution, at its outset, inevitably involves a still further depression in the forces of production, we must do all that is humanly possible to safeguard, to maintain, to preserve from utter ruin, this most important element in the forces of production, the working class itself. The preservation of the working class is an indispensable condition for the reconstruction of the productive apparatus of society.

The bourgeoisie endeavours to throw the whole cost of the war upon the shoulders of the working class. In relation to the powers of the workers the economic system of the bourgeoisie is what the Germans call "Raubwirtschaft"—robber economy! But, as a matter of course, a proletarian govern-

ment must make titanic efforts to maintain the power of the workers intact. During this period of unparalleled impoverishment in which our resources have been so terribly reduced, there is only one way in which this task can be performed. The proletariat must be placed in a privileged economic position, or must at least be enabled to live quite as well as the hungry bourgeois. All that is possible must be done for the proletariat in order to make up for the prevailing insufficiency of food, clothing and shelter. If, for a brief period, it should prove impossible to continue the productive supply of food, clothing and shelter (and the impossibility, in existing circumstances, is obvious), there remains only one alternative. The objects of distribution must be re-allocated among the various classes. There must be a compulsory expropriation of these articles, and the proper supply of the proletariat must be organised. In short, we must practise the "Communism of distribution."

In practising this Communism of distribution our ultimate aim is to promote the development of the forces of production. In other words, during this period of impoverishment and famine, the so-called Communism of distribution is a necessary stage on the way to "true" Communism, on the way to productive Communism.

As a matter of course, the lower middle class must not be affected by this expropriation. It is

justly a matter of course that in the colossal upheaval of the Revolution there have been thousands of instances in which this rule has been broken. Yet no one but a pedant would "repudiate the Revolution" simply because the Revolution had not been achieved with that perfect orderliness we might desiderate.

To sum up: the concrete conditions of our time, the widespread impoverishment that exists, compel us to expropriate the means of distribution no less than the means of production. The working class is the fundamental force of production, and the expropriation of the means of distribution is essential to the preservation of the working class.

IV.

THE PROLETARIAN AND MILITARIST CHARACTER OF THE DICTATORSHIP AND OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

We come at length to a series of questions which are closely interconnected. We are accused of a variety of sins. It is said that we make an improper use of the power of our Party, that we are "oligarchs"; we are terrorists; we practise Socialism of a militarist type (the last accusation is quaint in the mouth of Imperialist and royalist Socialists); etc. We need not waste time over the abusive epithets or other labels employed by our opponents. Nevertheless, we do not for a moment deny that our apparatus is rigidly centralised; that our policy towards the bourgeoisie and towards the parties

of the compromising Socialists is repressive in character; that the organisation of our own Party, as a ruling Party which exercises a dictatorship through the Soviets, is of a militarist type. To the pedant these things may appear monstrous crimes; but they must be sacred laws of action for every revolutionary who has to work under the conditions imposed by circumstances upon our party.

At this very moment the Russian proletariat is the object (I use Churchill's own words) of a concentric attack on the part of fourteen States. But if we reckon up all the States which are at war with us directly or indirectly, the number of these brigand organisations is considerably larger. If we superadd the "national" and declared counter-revolution we arrive at a force of considerable magnitude. In these circumstances the Soviet Republic is perforce an entrenched camp, and the dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily take the form of a proletarian and militarist dictatorship. It would be impossible for us to countenance any disintegrating elements within the sphere of our rule; we are compelled to maintain military discipline throughout the country and in all departments of the administration. This explains everything. Those among the intellectuals who are swayed by foolish sentimentality, those in whom the severities of the great struggle arouse a shudder, those who are filled with fear mingled with disgust, are unremitting in their attacks against the proletarian regime—for the simple reason that they are utterly unable to understand the conditions of the struggle and the active will which the historical conditions demand of us. The best illustration of the need for such a regime is furnished by the organisation of our own Party. Every one of its members considers himself mobilised for active service. At the first summons of our Central Committee, the member of our Party, whoever he may be, must go to the post assigned to him. He must leave his family and make his way to the front, rifle on shoulder; or he must do observation work from an aeroplane over the enemy lines; or he must visit one of the enemy countries; or must give up nights and days to whatever work he is ordered to undertake. In these respects there is no difference between military and civil life.

For instance, in order to increase the productivity of labour, the members of our Party work overtime, or work on holidays, forming special Communist detachments; they load wood, unload trucks, labour in factories and workshops, setting an example of a new fraternal discipline. Nothing of the kind has ever been known before, and nothing of the kind is possible as yet outside Russia. Here it is absolutely necessary. And for every violation of this party discipline there are strict and extremel "disagreeable" penalties.

But if our own Party (the governmental Party which has actually to saw the wood!) is organised on military lines, it is obvious that it will create Sovietist institutions in its own image, or will

least endeavour to create them. Only on such terms can we possibly make headway against the furious onslaughts loosed on us from every side.

From these considerations we may draw a number of conclusions. It is obvious that we cannot give a free hand to an "opposition" which, in the situation that now obtains, could within twenty-four hours transform itself into a counter-revolution. Such an opposition must be ruthlessly crushed.

Compromise here could only result in the internal disorganisation of the whole apparatus. Free controversy, in conditions such as now prevail in Russia, would not lead to the "truth," but to the victory of the counter-revolution.

In like manner, at the front, where a predetermined plan has to be carried out, and where rapid action is essential, we cannot tolerate "discussion" of the parliamentary type. Mutatis mutandis, the same reasoning applies to many other branches of our activity, applies because the Soviet Republic is an entrenched camp.

But will a dictatorship of this sort be permanently requisite? Certainly not. The acuteness of its form depends upon the situation of the Soviet Republic in relation to the outer world.

Just as the terrorist policy of the Montagnards was fully justified by the position of the French Republic at home and abroad (a fact which Kautsky, "the historian," would do well to call to

mind), so the Russian Soviet power, if it had failed to set up a regime intolerable to weak-nerved intellectuals, would have been an opportunist lamb, and would ere this have been torn to pieces by the imperialist wolf.

Before the war, the comparison of the fighting proletariat to an army aroused no criticism. We used to speak of the "proletarian army," of the "soldiers of the revolution," and so on. Yet now that the moment has come when in stern reality and no longer merely on paper, we have to be the soldiers of the revolution, many of these sometime soldiers prove to be deserters and strike-breakers, while not a few (nay, the majority as far as the Social Democrats are concerned) actually find their way into the camp of our foes.

It is perfectly clear that as soon as the pressure from without is relieved, as may and should result from the international revolution, the forms of the dictatorship will be "mitigated."

Ultimately, when our enemies have been rendered powerless once for all, when they have mingled with the ranks of the workers, these enemies will become citizens. They will acquire equal rights with the workers of proletarian status. That status itself will then cease to exist, being insensibly replaced by a Communist society which knows nothing of status or class.

N. BUKHARIN

Impeachment of the Second International.

The publication of this book, in its original German form, was begun early in 1915. When I was a fuger in Switzerland, I was authorised by Professor Grunberg to supervise the publication of a Russian version. Not until now has it been possible to carry out this plan.

The work consist entirely of actual records. Professor Grunberg's task has been the systematic collection of these records. They are of such outstanding importance that his book will take a definite place in history.

As far as we are aware, the compiler is not a Communist. Before the war he was known as a rightist Socialist. But he is an honest man and an impartial historian. His aim has been to collect the chief records of the Second International in so far as these bear upon the war. He has got together the manifestoes, all the declarations, all the programmes, all the speeches of the most noted Social-leaders, drawing his material from Germany, France, Austria, Italy, England, and elsewhere. He arranged these records in two classes; according as they date from before the war, or after the outbreak of war in August, 1914. They form a collection, and they present an instructive

The most precious among these records are those which date from two years before the war of 1914, those which date from the days of the Balkan Wars and from the celebrated Basle Congress of the Second International.

The Balkan Wars were the prelude to the universal Imperialist war. Sincere Socialists in all countries were well aware in 1912 that the outbreak in the Balkans would inevitably and speedily be followed by a conflict of far wider scope. When elaborating their tactics in relation to the war of 1912, the doughty champions of the Second International essayed to formulate a definite line of conduct in the event of a universal war. All the resolutions voted in 1912, including in especial the manifesto of the Basle Congress (adopted unanimously), were Hannibal oaths. The voters were ready to shed the last drop of their blood against Imperialist war, were ready to answer Imperialist war by civil war!

But the most striking of all the records are the utterances just before the outbreak of the world war, and those which appeared within a day or two of its commencement.

Just before the first shot was fired, the German Social Democratic Party, like the French Socialists,

like the British Trade Unions, like all the working-class organisations which formed part of the Second International, agreed in their official declarations that the war then imminent would be nothing but an Imperialist struggle brought on by the bourgeoisies of the respective alliances. All these parties and all these organisations urged the workers to rise in revolt against the most criminal of wars, against a war that had been instigated by the Imperialists of every land. But directly the first shot had been fired, the authorised leaders of all these parties broke off relations between the members of the respective alliances, and hastened, as if by magic, to call white that which over-night they had called black. Every one of these parties declared that the Government of "its" country was engaged in a war of "deliverance," a war of "defence," a war "for liberty." Every one of these parties summoned the workers in the respective lands to rally to the "defence of their country," to vote the military credits needed for the imperialist war, to rise like one man in defence of the bourgeoisie (such to defend its own bourgeoisie), to put an end to strikes and the class struggle, to swear a peace with the bourgeoisie, to conclude the famous "party truce."

Let us take as example Gustave Hervé, whom the first shot transformed into a jingo mountebank, a patriotic towncrier devoted to the service of the French generals. Well, this very Hervé, as late as July 28, 1914, wrote as follows in an article entitled **Long Live the Tsar!**—

"War to defend a little nation oppressed by a great Power? Splendid! But it is long since there has existed in Europe a great nation whose hands are not stained with blood."

"Do not let us talk of a war for the defence of the little Serbian nation. Let us talk of a war to maintain the prestige of our ally the Tsar!"

"The honour of our ally. The honour of the Russian Government. Heloise, Voltaire, and Hugo would turn in their graves at the idea. The Russian Government was not so sensitive about honour when it crushed Finland and Poland; it was not so sensitive about honour when it loosed the Black Hundreds upon the Jews of Kiev and Odessa!"

"Fight for the prestige of the Tsar! A fine cause this to espouse, for a people whose ancestors made the great revolution! What ecstasy we should feel at the thought of dying in so noble a cause!"

Such were the words of Gustave Hervé a day or two before the war began. And on this same day a manifesto signed by Jaurès, Guesde, Vaillant, Sembat, Renaudel, Hervé, and others, declared to the workers that the prospective war would be the outcome of the Imperialist policy of rapine.

Colonial rivalries, Imperialist intrigues, and Imperialist abuse of power, a policy of rapine on one side and a policy of rebellion and of the maintenance of prestige on the other during the last ten years all these things have brought about a persistent state of tension throughout Europe, and have involved an ever-

increasing peril of war." — "L'Humanité," July 28, 1914.

The following day, July 29, 1914, "La Bataille Syndicaliste," the central organ of the French Trade Unionists, wrote as follows:—

"Workers, if you are not dastards, if you do not wish that within a few hours your country should be plunged into the worst conceivable of adventures, protest!"

The declarations issued by the executive committee of the Social Democratic Party and the articles published in "Vorwaerts," the party's chief organ, breathe the same spirit. In Professor Grunberg's book the reader will find the manifesto of the German Social Democratic Party and various leading articles that appeared in "Vorwaerts" immediately before the war began. He will see there how Scheidemann and Co. stigmatised as black that which within a few days they were to proclaim whiter than the snows of an Alpine summit.

Quite unintentionally, perhaps, Professor Grunberg has published a telling impeachment of the Second International. Every workman with even a small modicum of honesty and good sense will say to himself after reading Grunberg's book: "Surely these fellows have made a public avowal of their own treachery? Openly and deliberately the leaders of the Second International duped the working class!"

The publication is especially opportune at the present moment when the champions of the bankrupt Second International are endeavouring to bring its corpse to life; when in Berne, Lucerne, and elsewhere they are organising the comedy of the "rebirth" of this International. It need hardly be said that Vandervelde, Huysmans, Scheidemann, Renaudel, Hyndman, Branling, and all the rest of them, will not say a word about the records which Professor Grunberg has collected; they will ignore their own words of past days. Like criminals who invariably shun the spot where their greatest misdeed was committed, these honourable leaders of the Second International would fain consign its record to oblivion. But we, who adhere to the Third International, have the best of reasons for making Professor Grunberg's book as widely known as deserves. We know no other work which so successfully exposes the disintegration and mendacity of the Second International; we know no other which so effectively holds up to general contempt its most renowned representatives of the Second International. It is our hope that all the partisans and pioneers of the Third International will know how to turn to good account this invaluable indictment of the traitors.

G. ZINOVIEV

July 19, 1919.

What Will Become of Germany?

The betrayal of the revolution is the end of the German nation. In November, 1918, when German Imperialism collapsed, the most splendid vistas opened before the German proletariat. Had revolutionary Germany then fashioned for itself a Government to proclaim the dictatorship of the proletariat and to conclude peace with Socialist Russia, and had the German example then been followed by Austria, Hungary, and Poland, Germany would have been saved, and with Germany the whole of Central Europe. It is true that this action on Germany's part might have led to the invasion of the country by the Anglo-French-American armies. But first of all we have to remember that it would have been easy to put into the field against these troops a German revolutionary army; and in the second place the "victors" would probably have been unable, even for a month, to carry on war against a revolutionary Germany. Had the victors proved able, for the time being, to occupy Western Germany, this misfortune would soon have been remedied. On the other hand, the difficulties of food supply would have been solved as soon as the counter-revolutionaries had ceased to be masters in Southern Russia, in the Balkans and in Poland—and the fall of the counter-revolutionaries in these regions would inevitably have followed the withdrawal of German military support. Europe would have promptly been re-victualled for several months to come, and these months would have sufficed to enable Central and Eastern Europe to deal with the "victors," so that real peace would have been restored throughout the world.

Events, however, followed their predestined course, a course inexorably determined by the treason of August 4, 1918. A considerable proportion of the German workers, even after their brothers in uniform had put an end to the war, remained under the spell of the fatal counter-revolutionary blindness which had been imposed on them by their "leaders," Scheidemann, Ebert and Co. They put their trust in the fairy-tale according to which they had merely to be good children, and not commit any revolutionary follies. Then the leaders would be enabled to "secure a just peace from Wilson, 'the great friend of humanity.'" In a word, everything would be for the best, and democratic Germany would become Socialist by degrees, with the simplicity and coolness characteristic of the German temperament. The awakening came speedily.

The "victors"—that is to say, the Imperialists who were in the saddle in England, France, and the United States—were in no hurry to make peace. On the other hand, the Socialist traitors in Germany were only too eager to make peace with the

German bourgeoisie. Scheidemann's friends blame the accursed Spartacists for all the ensuing trouble. It was the Spartacists who disturbed the idyl. Now anyone possessing a more or less elementary acquaintance with the history of social movements ought to have foreseen that this struggle was inevitable. The power of the German capitalists had not been broken. Even the power of the junkers and of the military caste remained almost intact. Inasmuch as no ruling class ever willingly renounced the reins of power, the German bourgeoisie was by no means disposed to abdicate. On the other hand, it was absurd to think that the working masses had for four years endured hunger and privations of every kind, solely in order that now, on the morrow of the political revolution, the profiteers should be left in peaceful enjoyment of their ill-gotten gains.

An economic struggle was inevitable, and widespread strikes began to break out in December. It was difficult to believe that the working class as a whole would be satisfied with the fantasies of the rabble of the social democracy. The Spartacists were no more than the advance guard of the revolution. Their action was as inevitable as the thunder-clap after the lightning. But he who says A may say B, and the Socialist traitors were compelled to fulfil their undertaking to defend the bourgeois regime. The only reasons for surprise are, on the one hand, the boundless stupidity, ferocity and baseness of Scheidemann, Ebert, Noske and Co.; and on the other, the docility with which for several months the German proletariat has been tolerating the abominable rule of these wretches.

We shall not attempt to describe the atrocities freely perpetrated under a "Socialist" regime by bands of hired bravos. But we shall show that between November, 1918, and August, 1919, this "Socialist" Government has not manifested in any department whatever an intention to consider the needs of the proletariat.

In the first place, the Government should have arranged for a fairer distribution of the available food supplies. It was an open secret that the system of distribution set-up by the Imperialist Government, a system which worked admirably on paper, left in reality enormous possibilities for speculation, so that the rich lacked nothing, whereas the urban proletariat suffered from acute hunger. The "Socialist" regime brought no change in these respects. Never has there been such unbridled speculation as since the revolution. It seemed as if a board of profiteers, in direct defiance of the revolution, was endeavouring to increase yet further the sufferings of the people. But the "Socialist" Government, which had plenty of machine guns and bombs ready for use against

women and children could devise no means for the prevention of rape.

The second task to which the Government should have devoted itself was that of increasing production at any cost above all as far as concerned the primary necessities of life. This would doubtless have been difficult, but it would have been possible. The huge army of unemployed should have been mobilised, should have been set to work in the agricultural districts, in order to realise all the possibilities which were open in the spring of 1919.

It would obviously have been difficult to refrain from interfering with private property, for it would have been necessary to seize the junkers' estates and to cultivate the land in the public interest. Nothing was done. The unemployed continued to languish in the towns, and to live on Governmental doles, necessarily demoralising; in the villages there was a lack of labour for the junkers and the wealthier peasants offered work on conditions which would have made slaves of the workers. The landowners preferred to let their fields lie fallow rather than abandon their favourite methods of exploitation. It was just the same story as regards cattle and agricultural implements. There was a great need of horses in the country, but the huge reserves of army horses were fruitlessly wasted when demobilisation took place. The horse dealers, the officers, and rankers of the stork troops, made vast sums at the cost of the general public. The rural districts urgently needed machinery and tools, but no one dreamed of adapting the factories to the necessary work of production. Everything was left to private enterprise, and the upshot of private enterprise was that some of the factories were closed, locking out the workers, whose demands had become utterly unreasonable; whilst the owners of other factories found that it paid them better to sell their plant and their stocks of raw material, rather than keep their machinery running.

The same thing happened in industry. At any cost the efficiency of the railway service ought to have been increased. Indubitably, the difficulties were almost overwhelming, but this much is certain, that no attempt was made to overcome them. On no other hypothesis can we explain why, for example, in February and March, Krupp's huge works at Essen, though well furnished with raw materials and though able, as engineers have testified, to adapt their machinery to the production of locomotives, railway carriages and trucks, dismissed a large proportion of their employees, while those who were kept on were engaged in useless labours—simply because Krupp had received no orders. The orders, in fact, were distributed with an eye to safeguarding the interests of "industry as a whole," this really meaning the interests of the manufacturers considered individually, and above all the interests of those who had been accustomed to supply the needs of the railways, and who had no desire that so formidable a competitor as Krupp should invade their domain. As for these latter

it was difficult for them to establish their undertakings on a peace footing, seeing that throughout the war they had been engaged in the manufacture of munitions. Once they had received their orders, they were in no further hurry. The result was that the sacrosanct interests of capital were strictly safeguarded—but there were no locomotives.

The mining industry requires special consideration. The Ruhr basin is able unaided to satisfy and more than satisfy the demands of Germany for coal. Nevertheless there is a coal famine.

In February and March, upon the invitation of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council of the industrial district of Rhenish Westphalia, I had the honour, at Essen, of taking part in the work of the "Committee of Nine" to prepare a scheme for the socialisation of the mining industry. I am, therefore, well informed on the topic, and may be allowed to dilate somewhat on this characteristic episode.

In December there had been strikes in the Ruhr district. It must be admitted that the workers were not always successful. Besides, some excesses were committed. The workers were sometimes brutal in their treatment of tyrannical engineers and foremen. Moreover, in an epoch of revolutionary excitement, strikes, "accompanied by violence," strikes "lacking a plausible motive," inevitably occur. In any case these strikes "attended by violence" were by no means numerous; and in most instances there were reasons more than sufficient. In January, the situation became clearly defined. The miners were animated by a single idea. "No longer," they said, "will we go on working for the owners; the mines are ripe for socialisation; and they must be socialised." Few of the miners had a very clear idea of what they meant by "socialisation." Here and there the watchword of the movement was, "The mine for the miners." Nevertheless, it was only in isolated cases that this theory was carried to its logical extreme, so that the mines were actually seized by the workers. In every instance such attempts ended in disaster, for without working capital and without regular contact with the market, it was impossible to keep things going. The Committee of Nine, consisting of three representatives of the Communist Party, three Independents, and three Social Democrats, reduced the prevailing confusion to order. The scheme we drafted may be outlined as follows: the mines, with all their plant and machinery, were to be declared public property; their management was to be entrusted to actual workers in the mining industry, without prejudice to the question as to whether they were workers by hand or by brain. Thus the mining industry was to be nationalised, and it was to be run by the Workers' Councils at the mines. With regard to these Councils, the following plan was to be adopted. Each mine was to be divided into sections; in each section a certain number of miners would work under the supervision of a mining foreman, the mining foreman would overlook the work,

would pay the wages, and would be responsible for the safety of the workers. Correlated with this division of the mines into sections, "Sectional Councils" working in conjunction with the mining foreman, were to fix working rules, to draw up tariffs (the miners in the Ruhr basin are all advocates of piecework), and to supervise safety. Even for the business of each separate mine (termed in Westphalia "Zunft") there was to be a "Zunft" [Guild Council] exercising a general control, both technical and financial, over the entire undertaking. There was to be a "Council of the Mining District" (the Ruhr basin is divided for administrative purposes into twenty Mining Districts), and there was to be a "General Council" for the management of the industrial region as a whole. The scheme was enthusiastically received by the mass of the workers, while the engineers and the mining foremen regarded it sympathetically. The workers were fully aware that such a plan could not be realised at a moment's notice, and that considerable time must necessarily elapse before socialisation founded on a Soviet system could be achieved. They were prepared to wait. They asked the Government to recognise "the nine" as representatives of the miners; they demanded that Soviet elections should be organised without delay, and that the Soviets should at once be invested with managerial powers, pending full nationalisation.

It is easy to understand that the capitalists were up in arms against this scheme. It is less easy to explain why it should have encountered fierce opposition from the leaders of the Miners' Union, a working-class organisation. But those who are acquainted with the counter-revolutionary spirit which prevails among the leaders of the Miners' Union, those who know how restricted is their outlook and how prone they are to corruption, will not be surprised that a campaign of calumny against the Committee of Nine should have issued from this quarter.

But what about the Government, the Socialist Government? If Socialism had seemed of the least importance, it would have endeavoured before all to come to an understanding with the Committee of Nine. The mining industry will more easily than any other be able to undergo a Socialist transformation. As soon as the workers had been convinced that the Government was taking the matter seriously the remarkable popularity of the Committee of Nine would have prevented any disturbance in this branch of production. But the Ebert-Scheidemann Government was afraid to walk in the proposed path, was afraid simply because the capitalists would have forbidden the plan. Workers' control was rejected upon the ludicrous pretext that by the existing law there was no authority to inspect business accounts in opposition to the will of owners. For reasons equally frivolous, recognition was refused to the Committee of Nine. The National Assembly introduced a bill for the "socialisation"

of the mining industry. Substantially, the measure amounted to this, that the State was to be associated with the wire-pullers of the mining unions, that the power of the captains of industry was to be enhanced, and that the workers were to rest content with imaginary concessions. Even Kautsky said that the Bill seemed like a bad joke, as an answer to the demands of the workers.

Naturally the miners were dissatisfied, and the Government could find nothing better to do than to send Noske's hordes of brigands to the Ruhr basin. The April strike followed, and therewith the complete disorganisation of the mining industry.

Since then there has been a steady decline in the productivity of labour. Chaos is universal, a chaos which even a revolutionary government will find it difficult to remedy.

I consider this a most edifying episode. It is not surprising that the workers, suddenly feeling themselves freed from the intolerable status of wage-slavery, should commit excesses, present demands impossible to satisfy, and forget the sentiment of duty. There were numerous examples of this sort of thing in Russia under the Kerenski regime and during the first days of the November revolution. But in Germany the case was different. In the Ruhr basin, excesses and inconsiderate demands were, as already stated, quite exceptional. Discipline was maintained. The productivity of labour fell, obviously owing to underfeeding; but in January the situation did not as yet present serious features. The actual situation was as follows:

The workers, guided by a sound class instinct, favoured socialisation. Their representatives (the Committee of Nine) were doing everything in their power to maintain production, and were endeavouring in all possible ways to spread the notion that the Government, with the goodwill of the workers, could effect a considerable proportion of preparatory socialisation, thus doing the German proletariat an enormous service both from the political and the economic point of view. But this would inevitably have involved a contest with the mine owners, a struggle with the most influential and most conspicuous groups of the German bourgeoisie. The Government was unequal to the task. Unavoidable, therefore, was the conflict between the Government and the miners, a conflict which

*Statements conflicting with that of the text have been made by the captains of industry. The should be accepted with reserve. We must not forget that in the mining industry it is far from easy to ascertain the real productivity, for in the industry, in addition to work directly undertaken for the extraction of coal, there must necessarily be a considerable amount of work devoted to ensuring the safety of the workers and to keeping the shafts and galleries clear. Further, with a view to subsequent production, new shafts and galleries have to be made from time to time. During the war these tasks of a primarily non-productive character had been greatly neglected. It was not necessary to attend to such matters, and this resulted in an apparent decline in production.

was to cost the German workers dear.

I have given a detailed account of this trouble in the mining industry because I had special opportunities of studying it. But the same thing was taking place everywhere.

A struggle in the economic field was inevitable. The Government, though born of the revolution, proved to be the devoted slave of the bourgeoisie, and this contributed greatly to render the conflict more acute. In such circumstances there could be no question of mitigating the miseries that had issued from the war.

The sequel of this situation speedily became visible in the form of a general bankruptcy of economic life. The leaders of the Social Democracy had repeatedly declared that Germany must avoid the introduction of any Socialist measures until peace had been signed. The Allied Governments, they said, would take advantage of the "Socialist peril" to crush Germany utterly.

The foolish adults of the party, those who had studied for years in its anti-revolutionary school, believed these tales. They loved to conceal their petit-bourgeois thick-headedness and their anti-revolutionary mentality by making speeches in which they insisted: "There is nothing to be done for the moment; you must let us make peace first, and then we shall be able to realise the programme of the Social Democracy." Pulling their nightcaps well down over their ears, they left to the "heroic" Noske the task of maintaining order and tranquillity.

They would not see that the only hope of the German proletariat was to enter into an alliance with the revolutionary workers of the Allied countries: an alliance which would not be possible unless the latter had satisfactory evidence that Germany had completely broken with Imperialism and that peace could be made with a new Socialist Germany.

Now Scheidemann's Government, in its folly, did its utmost to convince the world at large that there had been no real change in Germany, and that all that had happened had been the upsetting of a few thrones. When we look back on the months preceding the peace settlement, when we recall the attitude of the German delegates at Spa, the conduct of the National Assembly and that of the Government, when we review the tone of the newspapers, the impression is forced upon us that there had been a general agreement throughout Germany to prevent a satisfactory solution of the crisis through which the country was passing. The very choice of the individual commissioned to negotiate the peace terms was singularly unfortunate. The role of first violin at Spa was allotted to Erzberger, a parson incarnate, a man gravely compromised in the field of international diplomacy, and one with a perfect genius for inspiring contempt and dislike wherever he goes. David and Landsberg, the most obstreperous and the most bellicose of brawlers, were deliberately chosen as emissaries to Versailles.

The National Assembly contented itself with

uttering platitudes, addressed to the ear of Wilson, varying these from time to time with grandiloquent speeches in defiance of the enemy. Behind the scenes the leaders, though they had no serious reasons for their belief, were counting upon disputes among the victors. With childish malice it was hoped that the Allies' lack of unity would prevent them from turning to full account the advantages of the situation.

We can now see for ourselves the outcome of this utterly uninspired policy. The conditions of peace are almost inconceivably harsh. On the one hand, they give the death-blow to Imperialist Germany, to Germany as a "great power." On the other hand, the German people is for many decades to be the enslaved debtor of the Allied capitalists.

The bourgeois Press and the Social Democratic journals chiefly complain of the losses of territory. From the bourgeois outlook these lamentations are natural enough, but the cession of the provinces conquered in former days by Prussia is a matter of little moment to the German proletariat. There has been much exaggeration as to the economic consequences of these losses of territory. There is certainly a danger that France and Poland will set up tariff barriers, just as Germany has set up tariff barriers in the past. But even should this happen, the economic development of Germany would not be arrested, for the laws of that development are mainly dictated by the geographical situation of the country and by the conditions of the market. As formerly, the manufacturing industry of Alsace-Lorraine will be primarily devoted to satisfying the demands of the German market, and to a secondary extent only to satisfying the demands of the French and Swiss markets and to a less degree those of other countries. It is true that exports from Alsace-Lorraine to France may increase; but it is unlikely that this will operate to the detriment of exports to Germany, for the simple reason that the French market has little demand for the products in which we are chiefly interested: manufactured articles, furniture, machinery, and tools. The French statesmen will never dream of interfering with these exports, since to interfere would be to destroy the industries of the newly-conquered land.

Underlying the interests of German financial capital are threatened. Hitherto the industry of Alsace-Lorraine has been financed by the great German banks, which have drawn large profits from this source. Henceforward the Berlin banks will be ousted by those of Paris. The German proletariat need not trouble itself about the matter. In the Polish quarter the danger is more serious. Germany loses Posen and West Prussia, provinces which supplied the rest of the country with a considerable amount of agricultural produce. But it is not easy to see where else than to Germany these provinces will be able to send their surplus agricultural produce as soon as normal conditions of production and exchange have been restored. The export cannot take an eastward trend, for the land

that was formerly Russian Poland produces enough for its own needs. As for Western Galicia, this will continue to satisfy its demand for grain from Eastern Galicia and from Hungary.

Upper Silesia, should it become part of Poland, should those at work in the capitalist brewery be able to arrange everything as they wish, will become the arena of a lawless bacchanal. It is plain that the Americans already have their eye on the manufacturing industry of Upper Silesia, which is destined to disappear into their maw. They will finance the industries of this region, exploiting them to the uttermost, for they offer splendid possibilities of profitable development. Hitherto, the progress of industry in Upper Silesia has been hindered by the tariff policies of Russia and Austria, which imposed obstacles in the way of export from this region. The union of Upper Silesia with Poland will enable the former to supply Poland, Lithuania, White Russia, and Ukraine, with iron, coal, chemical products and machinery. These are splendid prospects when we remember that all the regions named need railways, gas, water supply for the towns, tools, and machinery for agriculture. But the needs in question will develop by slow degrees, whilst the industry of Upper Silesia, though it lacks the energy of earlier days, is able to produce enormously more than will satisfy the demands above mentioned. It follows that the coal and the iron of Upper Silesia, ignoring the new frontiers, will continue to find their way in directions indicated by the geographical position of the country, going to Berlin, to Saxony, and above all to the centre of Eastern Germany. Nothing will be done to check such exports by any Polish Government or by the Anglo-American capitalists who control the Polish Government from the wings. They themselves would be the first to suffer from any interference.

It by no means follow from the fact that the political frontiers have been modified, that the inhabitants of Germany will be deprived of the products of the ceded areas. But, of course, the German capitalists will lose. German financial capital will no longer be able to take the lion's share of the surplus value produced in these areas, a share which formerly accrued as rent, interest, and profit.

In like manner, the days of Germany as a great power are over. Without speaking of the loss of several million souls, the part played by Germany in the world market will necessarily be comparatively insignificant now that the trade of Alsace-Lorraine and the Polish provinces is no longer to be directed from Berlin. From this point of view the loss of Danzig will be doubly felt. For it is obvious that the "free city" of Danzig will be a figment. In actual fact Danzig will become a fulcrum for British influence in the Baltic, and the British capitalists will not be slow to use this new lever for the extension of their world dominion. Such is the bearing of that particular transaction.

The loss of the German colonies has a like significance. The German labouring masses will lose

nothing because South-West Africa (the "desert"), the Ladrões or Marianne Islands, and other seats of colonial "greatness," have gone to the devil; or because in these various regions the black-white-and-red banner has been replaced by some other "national" rag. Indubitably, however, financial capital will lose. The loss will be the more plainly perceptible inasmuch as, shortly before the war, vast money-making enterprises had been organised in all these "deserts" and " rubbish heaps," enterprises with the rosiest prospects for the profiteers. Now the strings will be pulled from New York and London, and the German bankers must content themselves with seats in the audience.

The German workers, however, will be grievously burdened by the indemnity imposed on Germany in the peace settlement, an indemnity reckoned in tens of milliards. At the date of this writing the figure is not definitely determined. All that we know is that if the total is anywhere near that which the victors desire to exact, several decades in which the economic energies of the people are strained to the uttermost will be required for its payment. To guarantee the payment of this enormous tribute, the Allies have disarmed the German people. They will control German finance, and therewith the intellectual life of the country. No European nation has hitherto experienced a like form of capitalist slavery. If these designs are carried into execution, the German proletariat and the entire German people is threatened with boundless poverty and with a forced step backward in civilisation unparalleled in the history of mankind.

The Government of Ebert and Bauer has not yet explained to the world how it proposes to carry out the treaty as accepted.

With characteristic ignorance, these disastrous statesmen probably fail to realise what they have done. For the nonce, leaving to their friends the maintenance of public order by means of machine guns and bombs, these simpletons, with the preoccupied mien of sapient monkeys, are patching up a constitution and are engaged in other political futilities of the same kind.

But what is the German proletariat doing? At the moment, it would seem that the German workers, forsaken by all the "men of mark," are carried along by the stream. It is clear that "all is not for the best in our Empire." A printers' strike, a railwaymen's strike, a strike among the bank clerks—such is the gist of the latest telegrams. As far as agriculture is concerned, the position would seem to be desperate. The eagerly-awaited raising of the blockade has not yet taken place. It is true that the Americans have begun to restock the country. But with the astuteness of accomplished users, they have made a start with manufactured articles, a method which is surpassingly profitable to themselves and to the German importers who are in league with them, for it is obvious that the demand for boots and shoes, cloth, and the like will be greatly in excess of the supply.

But from the economic point of view this will but further tighten the halter round Germany's neck, and will swell her fatal liabilities. After a time, perhaps, there will be a more abundant import of food and raw materials. But the question remains whether, in this way, the normal functioning of the economic apparatus can be restored. The reign of quiet which is so ardently desired by the political sharpers who have installed themselves in the government offices will only be possible if the German proletariat, abandoning the hope of living a civilised life, should passively put its neck under the yoke, should work unflinchingly beneath the scourge of famine wielded by German and foreign capitalists.

We do not believe it. In our opinion, the situation in Germany to-day is merely the calm before the storm. It is the calm before a storm which will break out first in the centre of Europe, but will subsequently spread throughout the civilised world, and will annihilate once and for all the evil forces of the conquerors of yesterday.

The gaze of the proletarian world turns anxiously towards Berlin. Will the defenders of order still keep the upper hand, or will the Spartacist spirit, the spirit of revolt, re-awaken? No one who knows the German proletariat can doubt what answer life will give to this question.

J. MARSHLEYSKI (KARSKI).

Moscow, the end of August, 1919.

The Bolsheviki and Their Doings.

Several decades before the great Imperialist war, Marx and Engels foresaw that it was inevitable. Their prediction, as its results are being realised.

The social and economic catastrophe to which it has necessarily led has opened before the feet of proletarians throughout the world an abyss of hunger, unemployment, poverty, intensified exploitation, enslavement to the bourgeoisie, unrestricted enslavement to the all-power of capital. Another part of the prophecy is being simultaneously fulfilled. The economic and social crisis brought about by the war is arousing the revolutionary strength of the proletariat, and this strength will at long last break the shell of the bourgeois capitalist world.

These two phenomena, the economic and social crisis on the one hand, and the revolution on the other, have a common foundation. Both are based on the war, and they are for that reason intimately connected. In those lands where the old regime has been undermined by the war, the revolution is beginning. The starting-point of the revolution, its primary focus, has been Russia, a country whose time-worn political and social structure, rotten to the core, was least resistant to the destructive forces of the war. That is why the old regime fell first in Russia. Thus the most backward country in Europe, where neither the beginnings of bourgeois liberty nor those of bourgeois civilisation were known, has unexpectedly become an experimental field for the first attempts at the organisation of society upon a Communist foundation.

The circumstances in which the working class (or its advance guard comprising its most awakened, boldest, and most resolute elements) assumes power are similar in all countries, varying only according as the seizure of power takes place at the outset of the economic catastrophe or at some later stage of its development. The very phenomena—a shortage of food; a lack of clothing, fuel, and lighting;

in the field of production a shortage of raw materials and of machinery; inadequacy of means of communication and transport; shortage of labour; want of money and of credit—all the things which in 1917 contributed to the overthrow of the old regime in Russia and which are now operating in the same way in Germany, create almost insurmountable obstacles to the Socialist reconstruction of society.

It goes without saying that these general conditions work out in different ways; as variations are met with in the political and social peculiarities of each country. Variations occur, that is to say, proportional to variations in the strength of the impulse which for centuries has been communicated by historical forces, and proportional to the economic exhaustion and social disorganisation in each country at the moment when the reins of power are snatched from the hands of the erstwhile rulers. But we may well doubt whether there is any other land where the influence of these disastrous conditions will impose so great an obstacle as it imposes in Russia to the Socialist reconstruction of society.

Towards the end of March, 1918, Trotsky, at a Communist meeting in Moscow, gave an address entitled "Work, Discipline, and Order Will Save the Socialist Republic." Enumerating the chief difficulties in the way of the Socialist reconstruction of Russia, he classified them as subjective and objective respectively. Among the objective difficulties he mentioned the general disorganisation of economic life, the bad state of repair of the roads and railways, the lack of rolling stock, the scarcity of fuel, the complete disorganisation of the factories and workshops. At the close of his book, "The History of the Russian Revolution to Brest-Litovsk," after examining the question just mooted,

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he sums up in the following words the objective difficulties in the way of reconstruction, difficulties observed at the very outset of the revolution:— "Economically the war had exhausted the country to the last degree. The revolution had destroyed the old administrative machinery, and there had as yet been no time to create a new one. As an outcome of three years of war, millions of workers had been completely withdrawn from productive activity; they had been withdrawn from the life of their class, had been uprooted as it were from their normal psychological environment. A colossal war industry on an insufficiently developed economic foundation had sapped the very life-blood of the nation, and the return to peace production presented the greatest difficulties. Economic and political chaos were widespread throughout the country."

Among the subjective difficulties Trotsky refers to the lack of organisation, of discipline, and of experience among the workers. Historically, he says, the weaknesses of the Russian proletariat can be explained as the result of its whole political and economic past; they can be explained, above all, by the purely rural nature of the greater part of Russian life. The characteristics of this life render it unfavourable to the development of free personalities, to the emergence of those endowed with initiative. "There was nothing to be found in these regions but a compact mass, living and dying after the manner of a swarm of locusts." The revolution first awakened human individuality in the masses. It was inevitable that at the outset the awakening should assume a chaotic form. In the peasant and the operative who had hitherto been merely the slaves of the Tsar, the nobles, and the great capitalists, in those who had been no more than dumb, driven cattle or a crowd whose sole function it was to mind machines, in those who had been ever exposed to the last extremity of exploitation, selfish impulses and passions suddenly broke loose with furious violence. Every one of these poor devils now felt himself to have become the centre of the world. Boundless pride, disruptive inclinations, a taste for rapine, individualistic and anarchistic tendencies showed themselves all at once in the masses, showed themselves with irresistible force, so that during the months which immediately followed the November revolution mass action was everywhere stamped with this peculiar seal. The phenomena in question were especially conspicuous in the demobilised soldiers, in those who had been uprooted from their social environment. Trotsky, explaining the unbridled acts of the masses during the first phase of the proletarian revolution, writes: "The Russian peasantry has been for centuries bowed beneath the primitive and barbarous discipline of our land system, and has in addition been crushed by the iron discipline of Tsardom. The course of economic development has undermined the former discipline; the revolution has destroyed the latter. The chaotic manifestations to

which I have referred were the inevitable issue of the antecedent repressions."

In other words, the Russian masses entered the era of the Proletarian Socialist Revolution with a mentality that had been formed in the conditions of existence and amid the relationships peculiar to an earlier type of social development than that characteristic of the capitalist age. For centuries after centuries they lived under a semi-Asiatic despotism, knowing only the limited experiences of a primitive agricultural society. Abruptly, without transition, they have been summoned to an almost superhuman task. The call has gone forth to them to build a Socialist Republic upon the ruins of Tsarist Russia. In fact, Russia has skipped the epoch of bourgeois freedom and bourgeois culture; it has only experienced capitalism in an abridged and mutilated form. But side by side with the negative influence exercised by this evolution upon the souls of the people (an influence repeatedly and clearly emphasised by Lenin and Trotsky), we may point to certain positive aspects. The latter are so important that they suggest to our minds the possibility that the Russian proletariat may become the vanguard of the workers' revolution, that the Russians may actively lead the way in bringing about the social transformation. An inextinguishable flame of idealism; an intense and simple love of the realities of life; an aspiration towards the loftiest summits, towards the infinite, towards the inaccessible; hatred of falseness and half-measures; hatred of everything that is Laodicean and incomplete; a yearning for "all or nothing"—such are the characteristics of the Russian soul, characteristics which in large measure serve to explain the splendid and unqualified radicalism, the unrivalled adhesion to principle peculiar to the Russian revolutionaries.

But in this soul of the Russian people, as moulded by Russian history, there are certain weaknesses which manifest themselves in the sphere of practice. First of all, we find that Russians are not to lack certain qualities which capitalist society has cultivated to the highest possible degree; they are deficient in love of order, punctuality, application, organising capacity. Prior to the revolution there was no possibility that the Russian masses should acquire political and social education by taking part in social life and by entering great organisations. The masses lived in conditions which were anything but propitious to the development of civic sentiments and of self-discipline. These qualities are developed in the people by bourgeois liberty. The complete and prolonged reign of this liberty, such as has prevailed in England, makes these qualities second nature. The Russian masses, in their first enthusiasm for the experience of liberty, in their first delight at deliverance from an intoler-

"The Russian works badly when compared with the worker of more advanced lands. How could it be otherwise under the Tsarist regime and amid the vestiges of serfdom? The Soviet Government must devote all its energies to the task of teaching the people how to work."

able yoke which made their whole life a prolonged martyrdom, have now, without any preparation, to assimilate qualities which other nations have been cultivating and creating for centuries. They must free themselves from ignorance, from unrestricted individualism, from selfishness, from corruption, from the instinct of greed; and from all the other defects which were so apparent from the very inception of the revolution. In the speech already quoted, Trotski alludes to these things as a malady of childhood, an organic illness, which is inevitable in the course of the development of the oppressed masses. "We should be blind," he says, "we should be poltroons, if we looked upon them as mortal symptoms, as pointing to an overwhelming danger. But they constitute an illness none the less, and we must do our utmost to cure it as soon as possible."

This explains the repeated appeals to the masses by Lenin, Trotski, and the other leaders, appeals for self-discipline and self-mastery. It explains, too, the insistence, an insistence which at first surprises and induces an unpleasant impression, with which Lenin, in his address to the Supreme Economic Council, refers to the absolute necessity of an iron discipline in the factories, upon the railways, to the need for unquestioning obedience on the part of the workers to the leaders of their own choice.*

In addition to the difficulties enumerated by Trotski, there are others which considerably hamper the realisation of Socialism in Russia. They are consequences of the situation imposed on the Soviet Republic by the policy of the international Imperialists. By the peace of Brest-Litovsk, Central Russia has been cut off from the fertile southern provinces whence the large towns normally drew their bread supply. Furthermore, the peace has deprived Russia of its sources of naphtha and petroleum, although these products were indispensable to the maintenance of communications and to the replenishing of the factories with raw materials.

Immediately after this "disastrous peace," began the intrigue of the Allied powers. Linking up with the counter-revolutionary elements, the Allies fostered within the confines of Russia the revolt of the Czecho-Slovak prisoners of war against the Soviet Government, thus cutting off Central Russia and the Volga basin from the Donetz basin and from Siberia, from the regions, that is to say, which were no less important than Ukraine to the food supply of Central Russia, being the sources of fish, butter, meat and bread.†

In his letter to the French Government, published

* Naturally these adjurations have nothing in common with the appeals of the German patriotic Socialists on behalf of the maintenance of order, or with the advice, which these Socialists lavish on the workers, against strikes lest industry should be endangered. The Russian masses have been freed from the tyranny of capital; the German masses have still to achieve their deliverance; the difference is vital.

† Who can fail to be indignant at the cynical remark of a member of the medical staff of the French hospital

by the *Nouvelle Internationale*, René Marchand, Russian correspondent of "The Figaro," shows irrefutably that the official representatives of France had endeavoured to destroy bridges on some of the most important railway lines in Russia, their aim being to throw the food supply of Petrograd and Moscow completely out of gear, thus inducing famine and the disorders this would entail.

It need hardly be said that the United States would give no help to the Soviet Republic in the form of credit loans, machinery, the sending of technical experts, etc. But the Russians had counted on such help, and had endeavoured to secure it by making all kinds of concessions to American capital.

What I have written may suffice to give the reader an inkling of the tremendous difficulties which stood and still stand in the way of the Socialist reconstruction of Russia. Should the Bolshevik experiment fail, we could with an easy conscience assign the failure to the causes above enumerated. This failure would not justify any arguments against socialisation or against those who have attempted to bring it about. In actual fact, however, the experiment has by no means failed. On the contrary, despite the extremely unfavourable conditions, the creative power of the masses and the practicability of Socialist institutions have been demonstrated. The experiment has proved, not merely that it is possible for the working and peasant masses to assume governmental powers, but further that these same masses can use governmental powers to good effect, can use them to put an end to the exploitation of one human being by another, and to lay the foundations of Communist society.

The assertion that the experiment has not failed is justified by a whole series of facts. First of all, we may point to the continued existence of the Soviet Government for more than a year and a half after the successful insurrection by which it gained power in November, 1917. Its vigorous survival notwithstanding the disastrous peace of Brest-Litovsk, notwithstanding the continual plotting of the Allies, notwithstanding a terrible famine in the towns, notwithstanding the growing menace of a world-wide capitalist coalition against the Soviet Republic, suffices to show that the Soviet Government, although its measures have often been harsh and arbitrary, enjoys the confidence and affection of the masses. It proves, too, that the Government has been able, in many respects, to better the condition of the people; to awaken in them the hope of complete freedom; to incline them, with this end in view,

in Petrograd, who dared to criticise the "Bolshevik regime of famine", although his own compatriots were among those responsible for the state of affairs. His remarks were published without comment by the Dutch newspaper "Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant".

‡ Cf. Allied Agents in Soviet Russia, by René Marchand, published by the People's Russian Information Bureau, and, Why I Support the Bolsheviks, by René Marchand, published by the British Socialist Party.—E & C. P.

to accept all conceivable hardships, to work diligently, and to live as frugally as possible. The existence of the Soviet Government for a year and a half proves that it is succeeding in promoting the regeneration of the masses of the Russian people.

Additional proof is afforded by the increasing power and by the military successes of the Red Army. The Russian masses are glad to fight for the Soviet Republic. For its sake they leave their friends and their work, submit to military discipline, pour out their blood freely. When we remember the utter exhaustion resulting from the Imperialist war, when we recall the condition of the masses in 1917 and their total disorganisation at the outset of the revolution, the facts cited seem to afford to us convincing proof that the Russian people is filled with a spirit of active devotion to the Soviet Government.

In the third place, great importance must be attached to the change of outlook among the lower middle-class Socialist parties (the Mensheviks and the Right Social Revolutionaries) and among the bourgeois intellectuals. The Mensheviks and their associates are no longer in opposition; they have agreed to form a coalition with the Government for the defence of the Soviet Republic. The intellectuals have submitted to the inevitable, and have abandoned their policy of passive resistance. They have put themselves at the disposal of the new order, and to an increasing extent they are coming to form part of the political organisation of the Soviet Government. Thus by degrees there are being grouped round the Government all the living forces of the Russian people, ready to defend Russia against the onslaughts of international capitalism—including German capitalism.

In addition to these indirect proofs of the success of the Socialist experiment, direct proof is forthcoming. We have, for instance, the governmental wireless messages. We have articles in the Bolshevik journals and in the Swiss monthly review "Demain." We have also, finally the news items contained in the official "Russische Nachrichten." This was published for a time at Berne, and its columns contained a careful synopsis of all the news published by the Russian journals concerning the social transformation.† Some of the readers of "De Nieuwe Tijd" are of opinion that the information contained in the "Russische Nachrichten" is valueless because it was derived from the official organs of the Soviet Government. I must point out, however, that the same objection may be made to official news in every country, to all official statistics

and the like. Merely because news is official, we are not entitled to regard it as devoid of evidential value, and to leave it out of account. In most cases, doubtless, it is far from easy to ascertain to what degree governmental decisions are carried into effect, and to what degree they are mere writings upon paper. In this respect, the enormous transformations undertaken by the Soviet Government are on all fours with the petty reforms of bourgeois governments, the reforms which these latter propose to carry out within the framework of capitalist society. We would ask those who shrug their shoulders, those who speak contemptuously of the paper measures of the Bolsheviks, whether they can point to any country in the world where such simple labour legislation as that enacting the reduction of the working day by an hour or half an hour, is immediately and effectively realised. The history of labour legislation in France and in Holland tells another tale. We know that years have often elapsed before measures of this character, even measures which have no more than the most superficial effect on the capitalist system, can be put into general application. Who has a right to be exacting in the case of changes involving a colossal transformation, a radical modification of political, economic, social, and intellectual life? Those only who take an utterly superficial view, or those only whose minds are poisoned with hatred, can belittle the first steps of the Soviet Government simply because its decrees are not instantly enforced to the full.

Moreover, it seems probable that many of the reforms undertaken by the Soviet Government of Russia are being realised far more rapidly than in the capitalist States of other parts of the world minor reforms aiming at the protection of labour have ever been realised. In a revolutionary epoch, the masses are eager to apply the new decisions. Besides, in many cases, these decisions are but the general realisation and the sanction of what has been achieved by the direct revolutionary action of the masses. That is why we feel confident that the endeavours to transform the political, economic, and intellectual life of Russia precisely because the proposed changes are so wide and so deep will promptly change the entire social organism from base to summit. I speak in general terms. There will doubtless be many departments in which, owing to the impotence of some of the executive organs, owing to lack of understanding, owing to want of knowledge and experience, or owing to the fact that the Socialist consciousness of the masses is still insufficiently alert, the new measures will, more or less and for a time, remain dead letters. An additional factor contributing to slow down the revolutionary process is the low standard of life of the masses, the inadequacy of their demands.

Long ago, Lassalle denounced this "cursed inadequacy of demands." In like manner Zinoviev, writing in "Pravda" during September, 1918, complained bitterly of the inertia displayed by the

*In an Allied manifesto recently published at Odessa, the following expressions are used: "The Germans did not come here as conquerors. They came in defence of the right. Their aims were the same as ours."

†In connection with the attack of the Swiss government upon the Russians in Switzerland, in connection with the expulsion of the Soviet Embassy and the ensuing governmental terror, occurred the suppression of this bulletin, the "Russische Nachrichten."

Petrograd proletariat. Being timid, having been accustomed year after year to live in conditions unfit for a human being, the workers could not make up their minds to move into the spacious and healthy quarters available for them in the bourgeois dwellings, but preferred to remain in cellars and hovels.

The principal changes which the revolution has effected in the life of the masses are political rather than economic. In other words, they belong to the moral rather than to the material sphere. I mean that the passivity of the masses, of those who hitherto have been the passive objects of force and exploitation, has now been overcome. The revolution, marshalling them for the struggle on behalf of a new social order, has for the first time made of them individualities endowed with will and ready for action. Maxim Gorki, greatest of living Russian writers, noted this change and its happy significance at the very time when he was sternly criticising the Soviet Government. As a result of this change, the backwardness of the Russian people, their political inferiority and their intellectual immaturity, when compared with the people of other lands, is disappearing day by day. The Russians are rapidly overhauling those who had the start of them in civilisation. Thanks to their lively interest in political and economic questions, thanks to their vigorous civic sentiments and their devotion to the common cause, the Russians are actually outstripping their European neighbours. Their political experience, their interest in economic and social questions, their application of intellectual culture, are developing by leaps and bounds. In a word, the level of general culture is rising rapidly and irresistibly in Russia; for what we call culture is in truth nothing other than a keen interest in social problems and social tasks. It is not surprising that the Russian people, as trustworthy witnesses testify, should within the first month of the social revolution have, with remarkable promptitude, broken the chains of ignorance, and should

have rapidly assimilated all the elements of knowledge. The social revolution, endowing the masses with active strength, inspiring them with hope, giving their life a noble aim, is in itself a civilising factor of the first importance.

The revolutionary activity of the Russian proletariat is intimately associated with the forms of organisation spontaneously originated by the first impetus of creative revolution, and subsequently consolidated and enlarged by the Soviet Government. The revolutionary transformation of political life, and the organic constructive work which accompanies it, the upbuilding of organisations in which the will of the toiling masses can find free self-expression, are the basis of the entire creative work of the new regime in all departments of activity. This is why our examination of what the Bolsheviks are doing must begin with a brief study of the new forms of political life brought into being by the revolution. We shall next pass to an examination of all that has been accomplished in the economic, social, intellectual, and moral domains. It goes without saying that these questions, which, as the principles of scientific analysis necessitate, we sub-divide for detailed investigation, are in reality indissolubly intertwined.

The further development of the political transformation, the consolidation and extension of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are impossible and inconceivable without Socialist reconstruction, at once economic, social, intellectual, and moral. In proportion to the extent to which the toiling masses are freed from the burden of an excessively long working day, are freed from poverty, oppression, insecurity, want, ignorance, and prejudice, in proportion as they are freed from brutalisation, dirt, drunkenness, disease, self-conceit, and from loose living, will they be able, with ever-increasing power, to fill their role as governing class, thus ensuring their own good and the good of humanity.

HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST.



The Trade Unions and the Counter-Revolution in Hungary.

At the congress of the Communist International a long and animated discussion took place concerning the role of the trade unions in the proletarian revolution. There was the widest divergence of opinion upon the various aspects of this question.

The representatives of the Communist parties of the countries in which the trade unions have a revolutionary outlook laid stress on the indisputable necessity and primary importance of trade-union activity to the proletarian State during the transition from capitalist production to Communist production.

Other members of the congress, and the German Communists in especial, insisted that during and after the proletarian revolution the trade unions would be useless, for in most cases, said these comrades, the trade unions were led by Social Democrats whose temperament had become essentially middle class.

The history of the Hungarian Soviet Republic during the four months of its existence, and the history of what has happened since its temporary overthrow, suffice to show that in the proletarian revolution such trade unions, those which have become inspired with a middle-class mentality, can play a definitely counter-revolutionary part. The opportunist manoeuvres of the unions, their leaning towards compromise with the bourgeoisie, sapped the foundations of the Soviet Republic; and the Republic fell when the trade unions placed themselves at the head of the counter-revolution. We have as yet received little information concerning the last days of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. We do not know how far this information is accurate, and how far it has been deliberately falsified. But we have learned enough to enable us to form a clear idea of the decisive part played by the trade unions in the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet Government.

In political complexion, the Hungarian trade unions were non-revolutionary. They had become middle class in the fullest sense of the term. This trend was the inevitable result of the position they had assumed in the Hungarian proletarian movement.

The Hungarian Social Democratic Party was organised in a peculiar way. All industrial workers who joined the trade unions appropriate to their occupation became ipso facto members of the Social Democratic Party. There was, in addition, as a constituent of the party, a so-called free organisation, of which anyone could become a member without belonging to a trade union. But

barely 10 per cent. of the total membership of the Social Democratic Party was represented by the members of this section. The remaining 90 per cent. had become members of the party for no other reason than that they were members of a trade union. The system had a two-fold reaction on the Hungarian proletarian movement. In the first place, the workers, since their adhesion to the S.D.P. was, so to say, a secondary matter, became familiar with the leaders of the movement to a preponderant extent in the trade union field rather than in the field of S.D.P. activity. In the second place, the management of the trade union movement tended to pass into the hands of the upper strata, the most opportunist strata of the S.D.P.; for the function of these opportunist leaders as trade-union chiefs gave them considerable influence in the S.D.P., and consequently enhanced their power over the masses. The fusion of the S.D.P. with the trade unions put the direction of affairs into the hands of an opportunist oligarchy, and this group was able, for several decades in succession, to strangle the revolutionary elements in the S.D.P. The formation of left-wing revolutionary groups outside the S.D.P. was rendered extremely difficult by the fact that to leave the party involved the forfeiture of all the economic advantages which organised workers derived from being members of their trade unions.

When the Communists set to work in Hungary, the Hungarian social democracy, in alliance with the bourgeoisie, promptly endeavoured to marshal the trade unions against the Communists. In working-class circles there is an exaggerated passion for unity in the trade-union field. Owing to the prevalence of this idea, it was difficult to make the workers understand that the unity of the economic organisation would be nowise endangered by the creation of a comparatively revolutionary political organisation. Shortly before the proletarian revolution in Hungary, the predominance of bourgeois trends in the trade unions was accentuated by the adhesion to the S.D.P. of whole groups of persons belonging to the lower middle class and the middle class. The university professors, the sculptors, the civil servants, the army officers, etc., etc., formed their own unions; and this mass, devoid of working-class consciousness, permeated with petty bourgeois opinions and aspirations, became one of the main props of the opportunist leaders. The conditions under which the Hungarian Soviet Republic came into existence, far from modifying this abnormal state of affairs, actually intensified and consolidated it. The Communist Party, ally-

ing itself with the Social Democrats in order to establish the proletarian dictatorship, had to make the best of existing facts. The more reactionary among the leaders of the trade-union movement were in fact thrust aside, even the proletarian dictatorship was established, but such men as Garami and Buchenser, disciples of Kautsky, who had long ere this sold themselves to the bourgeoisie for a mess of pottage, and such men as Piedl and Peyer, who had perhaps secured a better price for their treachery—all of them men who had cast in their lot with the bourgeoisie—continued to wield an influence in trade-union circles. Other opportunists of minor importance, men to whom opportunism may be said to have been as it were a sort of art for art's sake, offered their services to the proletarian government, although their middle-class outlook remained absolutely unchanged. All the higher bureaucracy of the trade unions was composed of persons of this type, who hindered far more than they helped the organisation of the new regime. A struggle between these elements and the Communists was inevitable. The first strategical successes in the struggle were secured by the "professionals," the trade-union leaders, for in the troubled party the old system of organisation, based upon a complete fusion of the unions, had been preserved. It may be mentioned parenthetically that through the urgency of the trade-union leaders the name of "Socialist" was retained in preference to the name of "Communist." Under the capitalist regime the union which was the basis of the S.D.P. might still be justified on the ground that the trade unions rallied the workers for the struggle against the capitalist entrepreneur; this was the very essence of the party power. Now that the proletariat was in control, the fusion had become superfluous; the unions, thoroughly middle class in spirit, could not possibly function as organs of the proletarian struggle, but retained none the less almost overwhelming influence in the councils of the party.

Various attempts were made in the hope of adapting the unions to the service of the proletarian dictatorship. In the beginning of April, the Central Committee of the trade unions outlined the new tasks of the unions. The old rates of wages were to remain in force until the question of pay had been reconsidered. The unions were to do everything in their power to promote specialisation and to maintain production. It was their duty to interest themselves in the revolutionary education of the workers and in promoting the revolutionary discipline of labour. In the Soviet Republic the trade unions must no longer have recourse to former methods of struggle; they must give up strikes and en'canny. But at the very time when it was issuing this platonic declaration, the Central Committee decided that the responsible officials of the trade unions, whether in the metropolis or in the provinces, should retain their posts. Thus all the guiding threads of the proletarian movement were to remain in the hands of the opportunists who had long been com-

fortably installed as leader of the unions. By a further decision of the Central Committee, expulsion from a trade union would involve expulsion from the party. Thereby absolute control of the party was secured for the opportunist group comprising those spoken of above as the "professionals."

One important incident will show that the unions which formed the main props of the Soviet Republic, and which actually thrust the Soviets into the background, exercised a paralysing influence upon the forces of the proletarian struggle. In the beginning of May, when the Rumanians and the Czech-Slovaks assumed the offensive, the trade-union leaders proposed to discontinue the struggle against the Hungarian and foreign bourgeoisie. They suggested the formation of a neutral "labour" Government which would have nothing in common with the proletarian dictatorship. The heroic efforts and the personal example of the Communists were enough to frustrate this attempted treason, and to arouse such a wave of enthusiasm in the working masses that the trade unions actually mobilised, and most of their members enrolled themselves in the Red Army. But the leaders of Soviet Hungary, if they had believed for a moment that this enthusiasm indicated that the struggle with the trade unions was over, were soon to be disillusioned. The progress of events speedily showed that the mobilisation of the trade unions had delivered the Red Army into the hands of the trade-union leaders.

As early as May 15th, Bela Kun found it necessary to declare war on the trade unions by insisting on their separation from the political organisations of the working class. "The trade unions," he said, "must devote themselves to the fulfilment of their economic tasks, which are matters of the first importance. As for the solution of the political problem, that is exclusively the work of the party." At this juncture the protagonists of the trade unions threw off the mask and showed themselves in their true colours. Weinert, editor of the party organ, and Kunfi, People's Commissary for Education, openly placed themselves at the head of the old trade-union bureaucracy. In a non-political journal they published articles in favour of the political function of the trade unions. Even they had not the audacity to conduct a campaign against the party in the columns of the party organ.

The "professionals" denounced the black ingratitude of those who wished to deprive the trade unions of political power—the trade unions whose mobilisation had saved the Soviet Republic. The course of the military operations and outside happenings made it impossible for the Communists to fight the matter to a finish, and the trade unions profited by the respite to prepare a fresh assault.

From the fragmentary accounts we have received of the proceedings at the Trade Union Congress and at the party conference in June, these assemblies would appear to have been the battlefields of the respective groups. The trade unions again secured the upper hand as regards the name of the party,

being successful in their opposition to its being known as the "Communist Party." The breach between the trade-union leaders and the Communists widened, whilst at the same time there was a consolidation of the alliance which had existed from the outset between the trade-union leaders who had been influential in the councils of the Soviet Government and those among their colleagues who were merely masquerading as Communists. The last-named, after a brief period of hesitation, left the Soviet Government at the most critical moment for the proletarian dictatorship, when the counter-revolutionary insurrection had just broken out. They set to work to prepare within the unions the foundations of a counter-revolution.

The trade unions, which shortly before had declared the nationalisation of production to be one of their principal aims, now openly favoured an agreement with the bourgeoisie, thus advocating the re-establishment of capitalist production. The very unions which had recently mobilised their members for the defence of the Soviet Government, which had demanded political power and had wished to take part in the proletarian struggle, which had announced themselves to be the authentic representatives of the proletariat, now declared themselves opposed to the armed defence of the revolution. Destroying with their own hands the proletarian State, they betrayed and ruined the workers' government.

However meagre our information concerning the Hungarian Soviet Republic during the two closing months of its existence, however obscure the causes

and conditions of its fall, there remains no shadow of doubt in our minds as to the counter-revolutionary activities of the trade unions. This role was the natural sequel of their whole development. The renewed revolt, the inevitable revolt, of the Hungarian proletariat against the bourgeoisie will necessarily be preceded by the liberation of the political organisation of the proletariat from the dominion of the trade unions. This liberation is essential, not because trade unions are by a rule incapable of carrying the class struggle to a successful issue, but because the Hungarian trade unions are drenched with opportunism and the middle-class spirit, because, instead of leading the fighting proletariat, they have constituted themselves the vanguard of the counter-revolution.

A. RUDNENKO.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

While happy to publish Comrade Rudnenko's article, the editors are far from accepting the view that the counter-revolutionary role of the Menshevik trade unions in Hungary during the January coup d'état can be used as an argument against trade unions in general. The proletarian revolution which is now ripening, will break the shackles of the existing trade unions; it will regenerate the trade union movement, by breathing into it the spirit of the proletarian struggle, and by making it one of the fulcrums of the proletarian dictatorship. The working-class revolution will oppose a red international to the yellow international of the trade unions. The executive committee of the Communist International will ere long draft a circular letter dealing with this problem. G. Z.

The Polish-German Question in West Prussia and the Peace Settlement

In the course of a recent journey through West Prussia and the northern part of Posen, I was able to collect data which throw light on the actual situation in this region, the most disturbed in Eastern Europe, where the proletarian class struggle is complicated and largely diverted from its aim by nationalist passions artificially fostered by interested persons.

The plain stretching between the lower reaches of the Vistula and the Oder includes West Prussia, the former Prussian province of Posen, and the north-west portion of "Congress" Poland. If we consult a map of this district depicting the distribution of population according to religion and race, as determined by the Prussian Government on the basis of the census returns of 1910, we discover that, with rare exceptions, these territories of the ancient kingdom of Prussia are inhabited by a population composed of Poles and Germans, Catholics

and Protestants, mingled in fairly regular proportions. Nowhere can you discover a sharp line of demarcation separating those of different religion or of different race. In the northern part of the province of Posen, in the triangle formed by Posen, Hohensalza, and Kulmer, the ratios between the Polish population and the German population ranged from 30 to 60 per cent. The same may be said of that part of West Prussia known as the Polish "corridor," which forms a long strip of territory stretching from a point north-eastward of Thorn to the coast north-east of Danzig. There are two regions where one or other of the two races is in a great majority. In the narrow strip stretching from Schneidemühl through Brannberg to Thorn, the German race predominates; whereas the Poles are in the ascendancy in the wide region which runs south-eastward towards Tostschia from a little to the north of Posen. Through the

first-named of these districts runs the Netze Canal, an important waterway connecting the Oder with the Vistula. By this canal the raw materials derived from West Prussia and "Congress" Poland (building timber, cereals, etc.) make their way to Central Germany in exchange for manufactured products from the industrial areas. This region was colonised by Frederick the Great, who had the canal built. Subsequently numerous factories were erected along the canal and the rivers it unites, these being built by traders and manufacturers from Central Germany. The upshot has been to give the German population of the area an extremely distinctive class character. Throughout Northern Posen and in West Prussia, but above all in the neighbourhood of the canal and the rivers as aforesaid, the Germans are represented by the "bourgeoisie," by the middle class of landed proprietors, officials, the technical staffs, and highly skilled workmen. Elsewhere, in Southern Posen, agriculture predominates, and the native Polish population has been little modified by immigration from the west, from regions where commerce and industry flourish. Southern Posen, therefore, is mainly inhabited by Poles who are Catholic peasants. They have large families, and since their agricultural methods are rudimentary, the surplus population finds its way northward and westward to the industrial centres of West Prussia and Northern Posen and southward to Silesia. Consequently, in the districts of Bromberg, Schneidemühl, and Thorn, and in the coal-basin of Upper Silesia, most of the unskilled labourers are Poles. In those parts of West Prussia where the Prussian junkers own great estates, the agricultural labourers are likewise Poles for the most part, migrants from the east and the south. It is therefore easy to see why an accentuation of the class struggle in these provinces is necessarily associated with explosions of nationalist jingoism in the various classes of the population. Nor is it difficult to understand that the peculiarities of the local situation are turned to account both by the German capitalists and by capitalists from the Allied countries who are seeking opportunities for the realisation of their Imperialist designs.

The German Imperialists long ago perceived the need for making this part of Prussia a reserve for "genuinely German" capital. In view of the increasing number of unskilled Polish operatives and agricultural labourers who, wanting land, were to an ever-growing extent claiming the right of buying it, and thus emerging from the status of wage slavery, the junkers and the members of the official class began, about twenty years ago, to take special measures against the rural proletariat in the form of "agrarian laws" directed against the Poles.

The Poles were forbidden to buy land without a special authorisation from the Landrat, an official directly appointed by the King of Prussia. Whenever landed property was sold, it passed under the control of a land commission nominated by the Prussian Government. It was the business of this

commission to see that when land changed hands, it was to pass solely into the possession of German families belonging to the middle classes, or else into that of peasants from Central Germany who were deemed "politically safe." Thus the agrarian laws, known as the "hakatist" laws, inaugurated by Bismarck and perfected by Bülow, were in reality an attempt to keep the unskilled agricultural labourers in the status of wage slaves, and to colonise the country with specially selected and skilled peasants for the protection of the feudalist junkers. We must remember that the Polish agricultural labourers and the middle class were both dangerous to the old regime in Prussia, for both could readily become the vanguard of a foreign Imperialism attempting to seize West Prussia for political or military reasons. The recent creation of the state of Poland is a proof that the Allies have long cherished the design of establishing in Eastern Europe a military power to which they could look for aid in their scheme of encircling the German capitalists and shutting them out from the world market. Thus the Polish population of Northern Posen and West Prussia has for years been the advance guard of the Allied Imperialists.

As a matter of fact, the hakatist agrarian laws directed against the Poles were an utter failure. In so far as they prevented the Polish agricultural labourers from buying land, they gagged discontent without suppressing it. In truth, they increased it, for these Poles passed more and more under the influence of agitators from Warsaw and of agents from the Allies. The Polish workers continued to look for salvation to the forcible overthrow of the Prussian state, and to the annexation of these regions to Congress Poland. The healthy movement of class-consciousness was thus diverted from its natural aim and switched on to the trails of jingoism. This was obvious after the conclusion of the armistice with the Central Powers last autumn and after the German revolution. At Posen, in November, 1918, a council of workers' and soldiers' delegates was set up to ensure the stability of the new regime and to pave the way for the great social changes which, it then seemed, were about to take place in Germany. Now it was characteristic of the psychology of the Polish workers at that date, that their delegates to the council were not workmen, but persons belonging to the middle class, and intellectuals who had absolutely no connection with the Socialist or Labour movement. But these delegates were noted members of the Polish nationalist union, middle-class bodies. At a meeting of the Posen Council, held on December 3rd, Dr Seyder, one of the Polish delegates declared, "We Poles do not need a social revolution." The only internationalism displayed in this council was displayed by a few German soldiers and skilled workmen. But after the German soldiers had been demobilised and had returned to their homes, the council was entirely controlled by the Polish nationalists, and the body became a committee to prepare for the reunion of

the province of Posen, with Congress Poland. Then came the "Posen revolt" of January, 1919, and the march of the Polish legions into West Prussia. The line of demarcation provisionally fixed by the Allies at Paris, which was to hold good until the fate of these territories had been definitely determined by the Peace Conference, ran from the old Prusso-Polish frontier eastward of Hohensalza; passing through a point twenty-five miles south of Bromberg, thence running parallel to and south of the Netze Canal, to end at a point some forty miles to the north-west of Posen. But this boundary was ignored by the Poles, who advanced as far as the Netze Canal, cutting the important artery which the military authorities in Paris had expressly left to the Germans, and thus interrupted all communication by water between West Prussia and Central Germany.

A still worse fate awaited the inhabitants of West Prussia and Northern Posen, for in virtue of the Allies' peace conditions all the territory to the west of the Vistula as far as the line from Schneidemühl to Lauenburg in Pomerania was to be ceded, without a referendum, to Congress Poland. Thus a region in which the Germans predominate, the industrial district along the Netze Canal, together with the important railway centre of Schneidemühl, where the ratio of Polish inhabitants is only 5 per cent., passed to the Warsaw Government. The meaning of this is that unless a definite stipulation provides for free trade between the "corridor" and Central Germany, the industrial system founded upon direct communications between east and west via the Netze Canal will be completely destroyed. The aim of these peace conditions as far as concerns West Prussia is plain. They utterly ignore the religious and national interests of the intermediate strata of the population. Furthermore, and this is still worse, they have no regard whatever for the economic life of these territories. Their sole concern is with military and strategical considerations. They wish to ensure Allied control over the great railway lines of West Prussia, those which traverse the triangle formed by Thorn, Schneidemühl, and Danzig, with the important junctions of Dirschau and Schneidemühl. The French militarists wish to make of Poland a militarist State containing a population of twenty millions. It is to rule the entire valley of the Vistula; to have a strong naval base, under Allied control, in the Baltic; and to hold sway over the military system of Eastern Germany.

If the Allied Imperialists were making war against the Prussian junkers and Prussian militarism alone, if the aforesaid peace conditions had no other aim than the destruction of Prussian militarism, something might be said in their defence.

In actual fact, however, the Allies are attacking the very forces which fight in Prussia against the junkers; for by extending the influence of the Warsaw Government throughout the region named, they are subjecting the Labour movement to a reaction

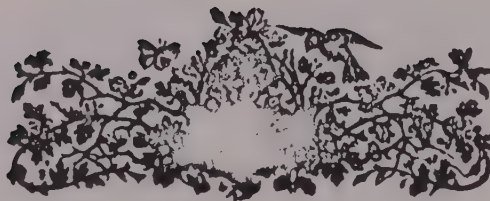
no less sinister than that of the Prussian junkers. I have previously shown how disastrous has been the influence of Prussian landowners and Prussian officials upon the social evolution of the rural population in West Prussia and Northern Posen. But since the German revolution reforms have unquestionably taken place. It is true that most of the Prussian officials appointed by the old regime remain in office. The harklist agrarian laws, though no longer enforced, have not been formally repealed. The irresponsible and reactionary class of army officers, who are mainly drawn from the junker families, supervises "Frontier Defence" in the east and inspires the local bourgeois press with Jingo ideas. The current belief is that the members of these circles aim at carrying out a coup d'état against the Ebert Government. They hope that, in conjunction with West Prussia, they may be able to form an independent territory which will be a centre for the "rebirth" of Germany. Nevertheless, in spite of everything, genuine reforms have been realised since the revolution. The most important change has unquestionably been the growing strength of the local trade unions and of the Internationalist Socialist groups. In the chief centres, in Thorn, Bromberg, Schneidemühl, and Danzig, for instance, "free unions," those which are entirely emancipated from middle-class and religious influences, have sprung up everywhere. Where they already existed prior to the revolution, their membership has greatly increased, in many cases threefold. They have enforced the application of the eight hours' day and of contracts providing for improved working conditions. Prior to the revolution agricultural labourers were forbidden by law to form trade unions. Now throughout West Prussia they are organised in agricultural labourers' unions which have formed "cartels" by alliance with the Metal Workers' Union, the Woodworkers' Union, the Railwaymen's Union, etc. Furthermore, the membership of these organisations is not exclusively German, for they have been able to enrol a number of Polish workers, who are emancipated from the pernicious influence of the nationalist propaganda that radiates from Warsaw. The international body of workers organised on industrial unionist lines in West Prussia and Northern Posen is greatly influenced by the independent Socialist Party. In many places, such as Thorn, for instance, the Majoritarian Socialist are working jointly with the Independents, and indeed the breach between the two factions which occurred during 1913 in all other parts of Germany did not extend to this region. It may be confidently asserted that these industrial trade unions and the Socialist parties which are their source of inspiration, constitute the sole gleam of hope which still shines from out the murky chaos of Prussian junkerdom. Amid the frenzied barchanz of Pan-Germanism and of Pan-Polish Jingoism which is in progress throughout this area, the industrial unions and the Socialist parties are the only centre of

sanity. There is nothing else competent to counteract the influences disastrously affecting the unskilled Polish laborers. For the most part these are still greatly affected by Nationalist propaganda, which urges them to put their trust in Polish lords and in the clericalist government of Warsaw that they may escape Prussian lords and the militarist Government of Prussia. Now whereas the Polish workers of West Prussia and Northern Posen are more than half inclined to jump from the frying-pan into the fire, it is interesting to note that their comrades in the occupied districts of Posen and of Congress Poland are under no illusions as to the "democratic" character of Paderewski's regime. At Warsaw and at Posen the Polish Social Democratic Party, which until recently was inspired with nationalist ideas, has come to an agreement with the German Socialists upon a common programme. When the 1896, 1897, and 1898 classes were called up for military service, a vigorous agitation took place among the Polish workers in Posen. There are strong reasons for the belief that the revolutionary movement is far more advanced among the Polish workers in those parts of Poland which have been "liberated" by the Paderewski regime, than in those parts where the workers still await "liberation." In these circumstances the German Internationalist Socialists regard with equanimity the prospect of annexation to Congress Poland. Though they admit that under the existing German Government the workers have, in one way or another, secured many concessions, and will prob-

ably secure more than they would be granted by the Warsaw Government, these Socialists nevertheless feel that immediate economic advantages are of minor importance when compared with the moral advantage which would accrue to the revolutionary movement of the unskilled Polish workers were to be delivered from the yoke of Jingoism. The German Socialists opine that this deliverance will speedily follow if the Poles of West Prussia and Northern Posen should be given the chance of enjoying for a brief space the regime of the Warsaw junkers and clericalists with the delights of which their comrades elsewhere in Posen are already familiar.

Notwithstanding the Polish-German nationalist orgy, notwithstanding the threat that war shall decide whether the wage slaves on the great estates of West Prussia are to be exploited by Polish reactionaries or by Prussian junkers, notwithstanding the Imperialist designs of Pan-Germanism in its death agony and the Imperialist plans of the victorious Allies to secure absolute control of the strategic railways in Eastern Europe, notwithstanding all these things, the acorn of international Socialism has been carried by the wind into these regions, and from the oak that will spring from this seed there will issue in days to come a force destined to emancipate the Polish and the Prussian workers, and emancipate them simultaneously from feudalism and from wage slavery.

M. PHILIPS PRICE.



The Situation in France.

I.

"OUR CRISIS."

With express purpose I borrow the title of an article by Citizen Renaudel, published in "L'Humanité" on July 22nd. I borrow it, despite its unduly restricted, unduly parochial significance. Our crisis, in fact, is no more than the local manifestation of the general crisis in Socialism throughout the world. What we see in France is merely the reaction in a given environment to social phenomena which have been in progress, not simply since 1914, but since the spread of the teachings of scientific Socialism. The distortion which these doctrines underwent in France during the years before the war has been one of the factors of the present crisis. But its birth, its progress, and its solution are essentially international.

Nevertheless, we have our crisis. It exists. I may even say that it grows even acuter, despite the peace, despite the "disastrous home policy and foreign policy of the Clemenceau Government," and despite the imminence of the elections. I contend that its intensity will increase as long as there exists within the party a group which endeavours to lead Socialists away from Socialism.

We are all agreed that unity of thought and action would be preferable to the dissensions that now divide us, but unity will not be realised through the mere formulation of this axiom. Nor will it be enough that we should meet on neutral territory, under theegis of such bastard compromises as those with which Socialists deluded themselves at the outset of the war, compromises which passed into the world of non-existence in the very hour of their birth. If we are to find an issue from the present untenable situation, we must examine the problem from every side. Above all, when we express our thought, we must discard all the linguistic tricks, all the political artifices, with which the Socialist mind has too long been poisoned. We must arrange in the order of relative importance the manifold questions we have to examine. We must not create confusion by discussing on the same level, the very principle of Socialism, and the details of its interpretation and its application.

It does not follow, for example, that because the party agrees to pull the "programme of action" out of the grave in which (to Renaudel's great affliction) that programme now lies—it does not follow that this exhumation will of itself give us fresh strength. Nor does it follow that the quiet disappearance of this programme of inaction has

been in the past or will be in the future a source of weakness to the party.

Nor is the sky cleared of threatening clouds simply because Renaudel does not repudiate the term "Communist," and because he admits that the situation is extraordinary. The avowal and the admission do not remove any difficulties from the path. The different trends may endeavour to discover a common line of action, but there will none the less remain in the party the germs of dissension and impotence.

We are at issue as to the very basis of Socialism, and that is why our antagonism is irremediable. Some of us are of opinion, and I myself hold, that the progress of events has given a striking justification to the theoretical and practical postulates of modern scientific Socialism. We believe that Marx and Engels (completing the work of Fourier and Saint-Simon, who, while making an admirable criticism of capitalist society, left to providence the discovery of a remedy for the slave of the workers in that society) have shown with brilliant lucidity not only that capitalism would culminate in social disorganisation and would lead to the ever greater development of the masses, not only that salvation lay with the proletarian, but further, that there was no other way of passing from the capitalist regime to the Communist regime than through revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Others question these postulates. They consider that democracy already exists, that revolution is needless. They hold that an understanding between the classes must be substituted for the class struggle. They are of opinion that Socialism, to use Renaudel's expression, need only "knock at the door" of the capitalist building in order to secure a hearing.

It is impossible to harmonise these conflicting outlooks. They are radically divergent; and they divide Socialism, not in France alone, but throughout the world. In France, where these conceptions still confront one another within a united party, real unity can only be secured by the final triumph of one or other of the twain; by a triumph which will compel those who are not convinced, and who are none the less determined to pursue the struggle, to make up their minds to pursue it upon a platform of their own.

We may continue to trust in dialectical subtleties, we may continue to be guided by the vote of a majority inspired by such chance considerations as electoral needs or by the presence of this or that

leader in the government. But if so, we shall have only one more compromise added to the others, a compromise which will be as fugitive as those of the past. Before dragging up a programme of action which will otherwise be utterly futile, the party must declare in unmistakable terms whether it is for or against Bolshevism, which is merely Marxism in action. They party must declare whether it is for or against the revolution and the seizure of all power by the proletariat; whether it is for or against the dictatorship of the workers; whether it is for or against the Third International.

Since the columns of "L'Humanité" are now open to us, I shall attempt to show why we are for these things.

F. LORiot.

II.

HEsITATIONS?

Disputes are still life concerning the strike which the General Confederation of Labour had called and had subsequently called off, and which, we gather, the Confederation proposes to resume ere long, in a few days or months.

This prospect has given the enemies of the working class a fresh opportunity for volleying abuse at the workers who should dare, once for all, to down tools. They clamour for repressive measures against the strikers of to-morrow.

The workers are to be deprived of the right to down tools when they want a rest. But this right to do nothing — there are plenty of people who practise it, not for a day merely, but all the year round.

It is these idlers, these loafers, to whom labour whether physical or mental is entirely unknown; it is these idlers and loafers who are breathing threatenings and slaughter.

The matter is really laughable. Those who engage in a general strike are all to be clapped into gaol. But here, too, let us make a beginning with the parasites who are on strike all their lives long.

Or at least, since no one interferes with them, let them have the decency to hold their tongues. They should be the last to speak.

But is it any use to look for a sense of decency in those who, but a fortnight ago, during the "memorial" strike, were dancing on the graves of the millions of war victims?

For they regarded and regard a day or an hour of the general strike as the prelude to a new order ("disorder," they term it) in which they will have to render accounts; they have a contempt for the workers; they are positively enraged at the notion that the workers may become able to claim their rights.

If hypocritical advice is not sufficient to dissuade and discourage the workers, if abuse fails, the profiteers of bourgeois society talk of arrests and imprisonment.

They actually think they can solve the social problem by arrests and imprisonment! Imbeciles or madmen, fools or knaves, must be those who imagine they can treat the workers in such a way.

Certain general servants of the press are willing to second these efforts. We think of the great abortion of a man who is so fond of spouting abuse, while careful to keep his elephantine carcass at a safe distance from an honest fellow's cane.

Certain general servants of the press men whose service is always a bad one, have not merely begged the leaders to act and react; they have even attempted to marshal one section of the proletariat against the other.

They censure the political character of the forthcoming manifestations. But if the character of these manifestations had been purely industrial, the criticism from such quarters would have been no less fierce. The writers in question would merely have taken a fresh aim.

They will not succeed in sowing discord in the world of labour, in promoting dissension among those who demand political rights as well as the right to live, among the workers who demand freedom and justice in a land which proclaims itself the champion of justice and freedom. The workers have logic on their side as well as good feeling.

But our rulers know nothing of justice and freedom. Hitherto the representatives of the people have supported the rulers. What will happen?

Without violence, through the independent activity of its organisations, the working class must express its opinions and dictate its will. It will not be false to itself, and it will not exceed its rights. The workers would be wrong to hesitate. They will not hesitate.

ALEXANDRE BLANC.



Rally to the Third International!

Part Two.

The first part of Comrade Münch's article never came to hand. The second part, which is subjoined, constitutes an independent whole. The writer is alone responsible for his strictures upon some of the Swiss Communist. EDITORIAL NOTE.

The arguments adduced by the opponents of the Third International are far more interesting. In the first place these opponents point out that the political and economic conditions of Switzerland differ from those of Russia and Hungary. Above all do they emphasise the fact that in our land the revolutionary epoch has not yet begun. They contend that we could neither keep our undertakings nor organise our life if we were to conform to the precepts of the Third International. Nevertheless it must be clear to those who attend carefully to what they read, that the fundamental principles of the Third International are not obligatory except in lands where the revolutionary epoch has already begun and continues to develop. That statement has a general application, and applies to clauses in the manifesto of the Third International with regard to which the above-mentioned reservation was not explicitly stated. If it be true, as some of our comrades insist, that a revolutionary situation does not yet exist in Switzerland, our adhesion to the Third International will not lie our hands, nor will it force us to adopt a line of conduct which might be inappropriate to the situation. No non-Swiss party affiliated to the Third International would dream of endeavouring to dictate to us in any matter of the kind, for the Swiss proletariat is nowise called upon to play a decisive part in the struggle with imperialism.

None the less, in Switzerland, the revolutionary phase has opened, and progresses under our very eyes.

We have reached the period of organised demonstrations on the part of the working masses. The Swiss working class displays increasing energy and stubbornness in these manifestations of its will; and the bourgeoisie is doing everything in its power to incite the workers to open insurrection against the governmental machine; that is to say, against the army.

It does not follow that the decisive phase has begun. It does not follow that we are on the eve of the final struggle with the bourgeois government. But our movement is already evolving along the lines laid down by the Third International, and we are therefore able to direct our activities in conformity with the fundamental principles of that organisation.

Another argument runs as follows. We are told that the Third International is not as yet genuinely international. The countries affiliated to it are

agricultural and backward. It has not been joined by the manufacturing countries which are destined to play a decisive part. The statement is correct; but far from being an argument against our adhesion to the Third International, it is an argument in favour of our adhesion. Unquestionably the interests of the world proletariat demand that countries in which the industrial regions are of decisive importance should join the Third International as soon as possible. We shall not contribute to the realisation of this aim by holding aloof or by indefinite procrastination.

Let us study and profit by Italy's example.

We are told that adhesion to the Third International would compel us to renounce the parliamentary struggle. The "Berner Tagwacht" actually declares that this renunciation is a definite plank in the platform of the Third International. The statement is false. By the platform of the Third International, parliamentarism is recognised as a method of struggle, provided always that it is used to help the revolutionary advance and to increase the fighting energy of the masses. But we in Switzerland to-day, take precisely the same view of the function of parliamentarism. The Communist International is from this outlook more liberal in its tenets than our ultra-Communists in Switzerland, than our young bloods, who reject without qualification an institution which may still be turned to account as a weapon in the struggle.

Some declare that adhesion to the Third International would split the party. A like argument has been put forward on every occasion when the party was faced by an important decision. We were told that we should split the party when the party congress rejected the executive's proposal, recent Zimmerwald. The danger of splitting the party has been used as a threat to influence our decisions relating to the war; it has been fluttered before our eyes as a terrifying spectre on numerous occasions of the kind. But we are not terrified. The bond of common interest is too strong to be so readily broken. Let us dwell for a moment upon certain details in the history of the struggle on behalf of our adhesion to Zimmerwald.

Those among our comrades who at one time advocated the most meticulous regard for international solidarity, those who displayed the greatest obstinacy in the discussion of these questions, those even who began the movement which we regard it as our duty to continue, are now either opposed to adhesion or advocate the adoption of a waiting policy. Formerly they constituted a progressive minority. Now they dominate the party. When they were in a

minority, their watchword was: "The advocates of an expedient policy crumple their hands turned by a growing opposition, which will compel them, sooner or later, to adopt a new policy, or else to leave the party." But to-day they cry: "Adhesion to the Third International is a matter of such pressing importance as to require immediate decision independent of us. We must secure guarantees first. We shall make up our minds when the situation is clearer. And so on."

Our Winterthaur comrades are of opinion that we should first revise our programme, and not only then decide upon adhesion to the Third International. At the first glance this does appear to be the only sound one. It would be sound if we were living in tranquil times, and if we were alone. But the strange to-day may pass, and a guarantee round a single thing. That question is, whether the proletarian is to be made to serve its party, to serve the capitalists, or whether the proletarian is to rise in defence of its own interests. The revision of the party programme will not be finished before the autumn of 1919, if so soon. The patriotic Socialists we have chosen our party will not waste their time. They will use every thing in their power to maintain their influence among those sections of the workers who still support them. They will make the most of this influence to betray the interests of the proletarian. In order then to all the resolutions of our congresses, and to conducting an energetic propaganda in favour of a return to the Second International, but they will surely should this propaganda full of effort, to carry on the support of those who wish to postpone the decision to join the Third International. Whoever at this hour opposes the immediate settlement of the question of adhering to the Third International, whoever advocates the postponement of this decision, is consciously or unconsciously supporting the patriotic Socialists.

At a meeting of our Executive committee Comrade Bannert proposed that the party should defer for the moment the question of adhesion, and should take the initiative in summoning a new international congress, composed of revolutionary delegates from all lands and one representative from the Communist countries.

According to this plan, the congress, working along the main line of the Third International, will elaborate a programme in which all the revolutionary parties can adhere.

I do not doubt that the author of the proposal is animated with the best intentions. Nevertheless, at this juncture the suggestion is a mere pretext for postponing forever, for shutting the eyes as to the real situation. Ever since that I have said concerning the Winterthaur comrades applied with equal force to Comrade Bannert's plan.

Why do I and most of us here are views advocate adhesion to the Third International?

We regard it as our duty to continue the policy of international solidarity which has been ratified by four congresses and to translate this solidarity

into the realm of fact. A refusal to enter the Third International, or the postponement of the decision upon this step, would be abandonment of the line of conduct we have hitherto pursued, and would prove that we are deviating to the right, in the direction of the patriotic Socialists.

We are champions of the Third International because we are assured of the need for the universal revolution, because we have faith in its vital energy and in its ultimate victory. Our adhesion to the Third International will go far to open the eyes of those among the workers who still follow the patriotic Socialists. They will see that they are on the wrong road, and will join forces with the revolutionary proletarian. We recommend adhesion to support our Russian comrades, to stimulate the energy of revolutionary groups and parties in Germany, France, Britain, America and elsewhere. We recommend immediate adhesion even though it would be no more than a mere manifestation of sympathy, for the simple reason that at this moment the Communists of all lands are the objects of fierce attack, and need support. The guiding principles of the Third International are in perfect harmony with our aim, for we wish to Switzerland to abolish the domination of the bourgeois minority, and to establish the rule of those who labour. The slavery of the working class must come to an end. We take for our example the Bolsheviks of Russia.

In deciding questions of such outstanding importance, we must not allow ourselves to be influenced by the bourgeoisie. The way in which the bourgeoisie regards a matter of this kind should merely serve as a barometer whereby we can verify the soundness of our tactics.

Thus, whenever the bourgeois press praises what we are doing, this should make us aware that we are setting bourgeois interests to the detriment of our own, and conversely, when the bourgeois press disapproves of our conduct, we may be quite certain that we are on the right road. Now what are the readings of this barometer to-day? The bourgeoisie is following with uneasy attention the disputes current in the party about this question of adhesion to the Third International. The young progressists have actually gone so far as to pass a resolution against adhesion. It is enough that any branch of the party should express itself opposed to adhesion, for the entire bourgeois Press to trumpet the fact far and wide as a characteristic indication of the general trend of the party. On the other hand, the bourgeois papers merely record a dissent comment any resolutions favourable to adhesion. They reprint from the party Press numerous articles against adhesion, and they shower praise on "the wise and well-tried leaders who are preventing the party committing blunders."

Our enemies' attitude in this respect is typical. Fail to mind, therefore, the claims of that international solidarity which we have hitherto been so careful to observe, and vote for adhesion to the Third International.

EUGENE MUNCH.

The Russian Trade-Union Movement.

The trade union movement in Russia originated from the revolution of 1905. Temporarily crushed by the reaction during the years 1906 to 1910, the movement took on a fresh impetus in 1911, to be arrested once more by the patriotic and militarist reaction of 1913 to 1916. By March, 1917, when the revolution that overthrew Tsardom occurred, there were in existence no more than a few feeble labour organisations. These trade unions were all extremely well behaved from the political point of view. Their membership was unorganised by law. Even the largest of them had no more than a few hundred members.

Thus coming into existence in a stormy epoch, in a country absolutely devoid of social life, and where the working-class environment was utterly unprepared for the discipline of organisation, the chief aim of the trade unions was to increase their membership so that the workers might become accustomed to the discipline of organisation and be self-government, and might be able to make headway against the pressure of capitalism with its organised syndicates.

But the current of political life was at that time too turbulent, and the Russian worker was too hopeless (enslaved). Hence the early trade unions were only able to attract a small number of workers from the best-informed and most fully awakened circles.

Nevertheless these trade unions were centres of organisation, and their voice found an echo among the toiling masses. The latter, though they did not actually join the unions, gathered round the unions as centres of organisation, above all whenever the economic struggle entered an acute phase. The reaction of 1906 to 1910 brought up new problems for solution, and among them the need for defending the economic victories gained in 1905. Indeed, it became necessary to defend the very existence of the organisations.

Obviously there could be no question of any systematic development of trade unionism in the atmosphere of ceaseless repression which then prevailed.

The trade unions were purely local in character, and as a rule the organisations lacked homogeneity of form. In most cases each union represented a single craft, although there were already attempts at organisation by industry. This was seen above all among the better educated workers, in the formation of the Metal Workers' Union, the Typographers' Union, and so on. But even in the minds of the organisers, there was not as yet any very definite idea of trade-union structure. For instance, in one phase of trade-union organisation, a union primarily aiming at the organisation of all the workers of a

single craft would admit members of other crafts engaged in a different industry. The Metal Workers' Union would not merely admit all the workers in the metal-working industry, but would also admit metal workers employed in other branches of industry.

At this period, the principal of trade union dues was purely razor. There different amounts were employed in the various trade unions. Some had a flat rate for all members, some took a percentage of the wages, and some had different dues for different classes of workers.

The conditions of the economic struggle made it indispensable that the trade unions should have distinct and genuine industrial homogeneity. This was further necessary for the solution of the problems of economic organisation. The first and the second international conferences were magnificent examples in this direction, but the tsarist government, alarmed, not merely to prevent the international meeting of trade-union leaders, but worst and particularly to stifle the movement.

The conditions under which the trade unions had been formed between 1905 and 1910, and the life which had been led by them, were such that their short life was filled with tribulations and internal crises of the organisations, rather than, having a vision of trade unions, followed one another in a continuous succession. But despite this internal persecution, the trade unions made the best of the material possibilities of legitimate existence that they had, and in many of them remained in existence for a semi-legitimate or even on a quasi-legal basis.

When the revolutionary came in March, 1917, no more than a dozen or so of the unions were still carrying on a precarious existence in a few of the large towns, and their membership was insignificant.

But even before the short lightning had come to an end, new trade unions sprang up everywhere. The factory workers were the first to organise. Sometimes one of the old unions formed the nucleus of a new organisation, but in most cases the new unions sprang up spontaneously, and within a few days a trade union would enrol the workers by thousands and tens of thousands.

The metal workers of Moscow began to organise their union within a day or two after the outbreak of the revolution. The first meeting took place in the modest dwelling of one of the oldest metal workers. Soon afterwards, on March 20th, an inaugural meeting was held, and an organising committee was elected. At this time there were already 16,423 members in the union. Such is the description of the origin of the Moscow Metal Workers' Union given by V. Polonski, sometime secretary in the fifth issue of "The Moscow Worker."

November 15th, 1917. With slight changes of detail, the simple history of the great Russian trade unions formed during the March revolution may be described in similar terms.

The period was characterised by a perfect fever for organisation and by a rapid growth of trade unions.

From the first days of their existence, the trade unions were compelled to take over the leadership of the economic struggle, and they had to settle the innumerable conflicts between the workers and their employers. Thus the organisation was a speedy growth such as is necessary in time of war. The labour bureaux for registering the unemployed, the strike committees, and the wage committees, were originated and improved while the work of organisation was actually going on. Workers' committees were spontaneously formed in the factories and workshops. In such conditions there could be no question of harmony or of solidity of structure, and still less could there be any question of discipline. It was nothing but the rough sketch of a movement, a spontaneous movement lacking cohesion, plan, or guidance.

From the point of view of organisation, there was the same confusion that had prevailed in the earlier periods, the same confusion between craft unionism and industrial unionism. Although there was now apparent a deliberate turn towards organisation by industry.

The various trade-union branches were linked up by central bureaux, which were little more than intelligence departments, though they served to co-ordinate the activities of the chief unions in the political field. The central bureaux of the various trade unions were elected in very different ways (equal representation of branches independent of the number of their members, representation on the principle of inverse proportion, etc.), and they had no regular budget. Their funds were supplied by chance methods, chiefly by subsidies, donations, and collections (the Moscow bureau was subsidised by the Soviet of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies). The members' dues could hardly be said to exist, for they were most irregularly paid and were assessed at an insignificant figure.

The principal functions of the bureaux should have been as follows: To carry out instructions, to study the economic situation, to organise new branches, etc. But these functions were largely taken over by other bodies, for instance, by local soviets, which in addition acted as strike leaders, as arbiters in industrial disputes, and so on.

It was impossible that the miscellaneous organisations should further the growth of a clear understanding of the type of organisation really requisite. Still less were they likely to contribute to the harmony and stability of the trade unions. Not until June were permanent relationships gradually established between trade unions belonging to the same industry; not until then were district conferences organised.

Where local or national organisations were lacking, the trade unions of Petrograd, Moscow, and other great industrial centres assumed guidance of the movement, initiating the provincial district into trade-union principles, and consolidating the ties between the periphery and the centre by enquiries, correspondence, and occasionally by the sending of representatives.

The third trade-union conference, held in July, afforded a striking picture of the growth of the trade-union movement, which was represented by 967 trade-union branches and 51 bureaux, and a total organised membership of 1,475,429.

But these swelling figures, while proving the rapid growth of the trade-union movement, indicated likewise the weakness of its constitution, for the trade unions, enrolling so vast a membership within three months, could certainly not have had time to create satisfactory types of organisation.

The number of workers represented was estimated, not by the dues actually paid, but by the number of names inscribed.

It was not until the first trade-union congress that a sounder principle was accepted. At the congress, those only were recognised as members who had actually paid their dues.

The third conference had an overwhelming agenda, and was not competent to deal with it effectively. The delegates had had no more than three months' experience of trade-union life, during a time of fierce political struggle, and during a time when sectional strikes had been rife. For as yet there was no regular interconnection between trade-union branches. In the Labour movement, at this epoch, there were two leading trends: that of the dominant majority composed of Mensheviks and Essers (Social Revolutionaries) on the one hand, and that of the Bolsheviks, already a vigorous opposition, on the other. The struggle between these two factors thrust into the background a number of economic questions of the first importance. The third conference was the first indication that the proletariat was becoming disgusted with the policy of the opportunists and the petty bourgeois Socialists. In the Soviets, at this time, the "coalition" Socialists held a majority, and at the Soviet congress the Bolshevik delegates were barely one-fifth of the whole. But at the third trade-union conference there was an unstable balance between the parties. The resolutions passed at the conference, and the composition of the provincial central council of the trade unions, reflected the uncertainty of the majority. The abstract character of the principles advanced in the resolutions bore witness to the inexperience of the movement and to its ignorance of practical details.

Without concerning ourselves for the moment with differences within the trade-union movement about fundamental problems relating to the class conflict, I may say that the third conference did good service in two ways. It established the first general trade-union centre; and it established the principle of industrial federations.

The principle of trade-union concentration had been already suggested in a confused, vacillating, and quasi-negative manner by the second conference. At this conference, held in the year 1906, the following recommendation was passed:—"The conference recommends that in organising trade unions the movement should not be broken up into 'little branches.'" But this principle of concentration had never been clearly formulated before the third conference, which had before its eyes the example of powerful federations amalgamating trade-union branches by tens and hundreds (the metal workers, the textile workers). A resolution passed by the third conference ran as follows:—"The workers should not organise by craft; they should organise in such a fashion that the union will consist of all the workers in a given industry, even though these workers are engaged in different crafts." We were still a long way from a clear and precise definition of a union based on the principle of production, but it was one of the great merits of the third conference that it did actually recognise this new principle of organisation.

But the unions were not in a position to undertake a reorganisation in accordance with the principle of production until after the November revolution. By this revolution they were at length enabled to satisfy their chief demands through the instrumentality of the proletarian Soviet government, thus avoiding the need for incessant strikes and for eternal struggles with the capitalists. The central bureaux now assumed a more finished and homogeneous structure. Ceasing to be mere centres of information, they became the guides of the trade-union movement in practical life. That they might fulfil this function, it was essential that the principle of organisation by industry should be more clearly formulated, and that the federations of trade unions should have a prestige that would enable them to solve with perfect impartiality the problems of trade-union delimitation, and would empower them to overcome the craft prejudices of the various groups of workers.

At length the first all-Russian trade-union congress clearly formulated the principle of organisation by industry, and was the first in a series of trade-union congresses. The unification of the trade-union movement was now well under way.

The progress of this organising work, the achievement of a fusion of petty trade unions and trade-union branches into powerful industrial federations, the realisation of the ideal of labour organisation by the union of all the employees of an industry into a single union, with its obverse that there should be no more than one union in a given industry—these advances were gravely compromised by a twofold antagonism, the antagonism between the manual workers and the clerical and technical staff in the factories and workshops, on the one hand, and between the higher grade and lower grade employees in the civil service, on the other. These antagonisms could only have been destroyed by a prolonged edu-

cation of the masses, and by the breaking down of the economic barrier whereby the higher grade civil servants were given a privileged position as compared with the lower grade civil servants and the remainder of the proletarian family.

After the November revolution, which abolished grades, decorations, and various other distinctions whereby higher grade State employees had been granted a privileged position, and which established a Republican regime in the factories so that the workers secured self-government in industry, the objective factors of the before-mentioned antagonisms were done away with. Under the new proletarian government, the social position of the manual workers became practically identical with that of the clerical and technical staffs, thus creating an atmosphere favourable to the commingling.

Nevertheless, the policy of sabotage instituted by the higher employees of the Soviet Government delayed the process of unification for a considerable period, and, indeed, until the middle of the year 1918. It was not until the trouble with sabotage was at an end, and until antagonism between the two grades had died down, that it became possible to realise in full the principle of labour organisation by industry.

But besides creating these essential conditions, the November revolution furnished many other stimuli to the development of the trade-union movement, favouring concentration and furthering the formation of national federations. Among the most potent of these stimuli were the following:—The establishment of a scale of wages by the State, the regulation of working conditions; the stabilisation and intelligent guidance of production. The assumption of these functions by the central organisation and their carrying out in detail by the local organisations made it incumbent upon the various trade unions and trade-union branches, weak in isolation, to amalgamate and to become nationally centralised.

On the other hand, the Soviet Government accorded to the trade-union Soviets (erstwhile "central bureaux" of the trade unions) recognition as representatives of the proletarian economically organised. It summoned these Soviets to share in the solution of all the problems relating to the regulation of working conditions (maintenance of the unemployed, public assistance, the fixing and revision of wage scales, etc.). Consequently the prestige and power of the trade-union Soviets was considerably enhanced, and the unions were led to devote their attention and to concentrate their efforts upon the perfection of their administrative and financial apparatus as well as upon the general soundness of trade-union structure.

But in the tempestuous atmosphere of the class struggle, which now assumed the form of an unintermittent civil war with the owners and the capitalists (who were supported by the imperialists of Western Europe), a civil war in which the trade unions played an extremely active part, the development of the trade-union Soviets went on for the most

part, independently of the central organisation. The attention of the latter was concentrated upon the national unions and upon arranging at long intervals to supervise local propaganda. For these reasons, the resolutions relating to organisation drafted at the third conference, like the resolutions at the first trade-union congress, make no more than the most superficial reference to the trade-union Soviets. The principle of the structure of the trade-union Soviets was decided by the second trade-union congress, held in January, 1919. The first congress had indeed directed the local trade-union Soviets "to do their utmost to bring about the fusion of kindred trade-union organisations into a single industrial union." This recommendation implied an enlargement of the rights and functions of the trade-union Soviets, and it assigned to them a role as local organs for the guidance of the trade-union movement. Nevertheless, the question of the actual structure of these Soviets remained in suspense until the second congress.

When we compare the figures of the third conference with those of the first and second congresses, we see that the trade-union Soviets are taking an increasing part in the trade-union movement as a whole.

There were represented:

At the third conference, 51 central bureaux (subsequently named trade-union Soviets);

At the first trade-union congress, 48 trade-union Soviets;

At the second trade-union congress, 82 trade-union Soviets.

The reason why, as between the third conference and the first congress, there was a falling off in the figure is that the ratio of representation was much

higher at the second congress than at the third conference. This is shown by the figures which specify the number of members represented by the central bureaux and by the trade-union Soviets, respectively.

At the third conference there were 51 central bureaux, representing 1,120,819 members.

At the first congress there were 48 trade-union Soviets, representing 1,878,000 members.

Thus, although there were three fewer central organisations, there were represented 757,181 more members.

The creation of a general trade union could not assume a definite form until the second trade-union congress had laid down the broad lines of centralisation, and until the congress had determined the functions of the provincial trade-union Soviets, placing the district bureaux under the control of these, but giving the provincial Soviets no more than a restricted autonomy as subordinate organisations.

The result of these arrangements was the systematic application of the industrial unionist principle. On the one hand, industrial unions were formed centrally by the fusion of national unions and by the calling of conferences aiming at the fusion of trade unions belonging to kindred industries and working on parallel lines. On the other hand, they were formed locally by the fusion of local branches of national and district unions. This was effected with the whole-hearted support of the local Soviets. The organisations formed by these local fusions have taken their places as the disciplined sections of the national central Soviet of trade unions, working according to its plans and following its instructions.

The progress of the organisation by industry from the date of the first congress down to the present time is shown in the following table, which contains a list of local and national trade unions.

TABLE I.

LIST OF TRADE UNIONS (PROFESSIONAL UNIONS) IN PETROGRAD.

Before the Fusion (end of 1917 and beginning of 1918).

1. Union of metalworkers.
2. " engine-room hands.
3. " foundry.
4. " welders and braziers.
5. " pattern-makers.
6. " gilders and silver-platers.
7. " watchmakers.
8. " electricians.
9. " machinists.
9. " machinists.
10. " ore-sorters.
11. " textile workers.
12. " chemical workers.
13. " perfumers.
14. " leather-dressers.
15. " typographical workers.
16. " masons and bricklayers.
17. " marble masons and cementers.
18. " master masons.
19. " plumbers and domestic engineers.
20. " architects.
21. " woodworkers.
22. " municipal employees.

After the Fusion (August, 1919).

- *1. Union of metalworkers and its sub-divisions (a branch of the national union of metalworkers).
- *2. Union of textile workers, including clerical and technical staff (a branch of the national union).
- *3. Union of chemical workers. Sub-divisions: (a) rubber workers; (b) perfumers; (c) matchmakers.
- *4. Union of leather-dressers.
- *5. " typographical workers.
- *6. Building workers' union. Sub-divisions: (a) master masons; (b) domestic engineers; (c) architects, (d) woodworkers.
- *7. Union of woodworkers.
- *8. " municipal employees.

23. Union of druggists' assistants.
24. " millers.
25. " butchers.
26. " chocolate makers and confectioners.
27. " brewers.
28. " cabmen and carters.
29. " brickmakers.
30. " loaders.
31. " chauffeurs and motor engineers.
32. " draymen.
33. " lower grade employees in clinics and hospitals.
34. " male nurses, female nurses, and midwives.
35. " hospital assistants.
36. " dental mechanics.
37. " houseporters.
38. " houseporters and caretakers.
39. " domestic servants.
40. " shop assistants and employees in commerce and industry.
41. " assistants and workers in retail chemists', laboratories, perfumeries, soapmakers', etc.
42. " technical and clerical staffs of factories and workshops.
43. " sawyers.
44. " employees of forwarding agencies and insurance companies.
45. " shop assistants.
46. " tailors and sempstresses.
47. " sailors and firemen.
48. " employees in the transport service.
49. " cooks.
50. " paper-makers.
51. " pasteboard-makers.
52. " tobacco workers.
53. " glass, pottery, and earthenware workers.
54. " workers on railways and at stations and goods yards.
55. Executive Committee of the union of postal and telegraph workers of Petrograd.
56. Union of bath attendants.
57. " laundry women.
58. " hairdressers.
59. " photographic workers.
60. " employees of cemeteries and churches.
61. " gardeners.
62. " theatrical employees.
63. " bank clerks.
64. " savings bank workers.
65. " treasury employees.
66. " teachers.
- *9. Union of druggists' assistants.
- *10. " foodworkers. Sub-divisions: (a) bakers; (b) confectioners; (c) butchers; (d) brewers; (e) millers; (f) biscuit makers; (g) clerical and technical staff.
11. Union of transport workers. Sub-divisions: (a) loaders; (b) draymen; (c) chauffeurs; (d) conductors; (e) porters. Consists of districts/unions. The formation of a national union was foreshadowed at the congress of October 1919.
- *12. Union of hospital and asylum workers with suitable sub-divisions.
- *13. Union of domestic workers. Sections: (a) houseporters; (b) caretakers; (c) domestic servants.
- *14. Union of employees in commerce and industry in Sovietist and social institutions, with appropriate sub-divisions. Some retail chemists' assistants have joined the union of employees in commerce and industry; others have joined the union of chemical workers. Have joined various unions. Have partly joined the union of employees in commerce and industry, and partly the union of woodworkers.
15. Union of tailors and sempstresses.
16. " marine and fluvial transport workers.
17. " workers in food supply.
18. " paper-makers.
- Have joined the union of typographical workers.
19. Union of tobacco workers.
20. " glass, pottery, and earthenware workers.
21. Railwaymen's sub-division. Has absorbed nine railwaymen's unions.
22. Union of national communications.
- " public health of Petrograd.
- *23. " laundry women. Have joined the typographical workers. Have joined the union of domestic workers.
- *24. Union of the workers of the soil.
- *25. " artistic workers (includes orchestra players, chorus singers, actors, circus performers, and the union of the imitative arts).
- *26. Sub-division of the national union of bank clerks (a fusion of five unions).
- *27. Union of educated workers.
- *28. " foresters (recently formed. Has been joined by the foresters, woodcutters, forest guards, etc.).
29. Union of fishermen (recently formed).
- *30. " revenue officers and employees. (An amalgamation of the unions of the customs officers, the octroi employees, the taxcollectors, etc., etc.).
31. Union of cementers (about to fuse with the building workers' union).
- *32. Union of turners (formed in 1918).

REMARKS:—This list has been compiled from a table drawn up by V. Schmidt, supplemented by the most recent information. It is obvious that when Schmidt's table was compiled there were many more unions in existence than at present, for he mentions quite a number of small trade unions of employees and workers in the fine arts.

Moreover, the recently formed unions have absorbed a large number of unions that were founded by 1918.

The unions marked with an asterisk are branches of national federations.

The above table, showing the reconstruction of the trade unions in accordance with the principle of fusion by industries, as achieved by the Petrograd trade-union Soviet, gives a characteristic and exact picture of all that has been done to construct industrial unions out of little groups originally constituted on a craft basis, and often inspired with a spirit of caste. Tremendous energy and much staying power have been requisite to overcome the craft prejudices of the various groups of workers and to put an end to the antagonism between the manual workers and the clerical and technical staffs. A similar task has been accomplished by all the provincial trade-union Soviets. It may be remembered that the labours of

the Moscow trade-union Soviet have been more complicated than those of the corresponding body in Petrograd; for in Moscow, which is an industrial centre, the total number of trade unions was no less than one hundred and nineteen, while there were nearly twenty unions of employees (clerical and technical staffs). The prerequisites to the success of these efforts were: first, they had to be unified and co-ordinated by the central organisation; secondly, it was essential that simultaneously there should be progressing an analogous effort towards creating national unions and their fusion with kindred organisations. The work accomplished in this last respect is shown in the following table:—

TABLE IIa.

| National Unions in Existence at the Date of the First Trade-Union Congress. January, 1918. | National Unions Affiliated to the National Central Trade-Union Soviet. August, 1919. |
|---|---|
| NAME OF UNION OR FEDERATION. | NAME OF UNION OR FEDERATION. |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National federation of metalworkers. 2. National union of artillery arsenal workers. 3. National committee of naval ordnance and naval dockyards. 4. National federation of textile workers. 5. " " " tailors and sempstresses. 6. " " " leather-dressers. 7. " " " seamen and watermen. 8. " " " glass and china workers. 9. " " " paper-makers. 10. " " " chemical workers. 11. " " " posts and telegraphs. 12. " " " sugar refiners. 13. " " " book printers. 14. " " " chemists' assistants. 15. " " " State bank clerks. 16. " " " bank clerk. 17. Organising committee of the unification of clerks' unions. 18. National federation of stock exchange clerks. 19. " " " shop assistants and employees in commerce and industry. 20. National federation of male nurses. 21. " " " sisters of charity. 22. " " " food workers. 23. " " " firemen. 24. " " " employees in the naphtha industry and kindred trades. 25. National federation of technical staffs. 26. " " " engineers and technical staffs in the transport services. 27. Branch of skilled and unskilled railwaymen. 28. National federation of railwaymen. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National federation of metalworkers. Have joined the metalworkers. 2. National federation of textile workers. 3. " " " tailors and sempstresses. 4. " " " leather-dressers. 5. " " " marine and fluvial transport workers. 6. National federation of glass and china workers. 7. " " " paper-makers. 8. " " " chemical workers. 9. " " " national communications. 10. " " " sugar refiners. 11. " " " polygraphical workers. 12. " " " chemists' assistants. 13. " " " bank clerks. 14. " " " employees in commerce and industry in Soviet institutions. 15. National federation of hospital and asylum workers. 16. " " " sisters of charity. 17. " " " food workers. Dissolved. Its members have joined the chemical workers' union, the shop assistants' and employees' union, the marine and fluvial transport workers' union, etc. Have joined appropriate industrial unions. |
| <p>Note.—This union, composed of a number of railwaymen's unions, had a definitely political trend, but was without administrative functions. Ultimately it assumed the form of a federation of trade unions. It did not join the general federation of trade unions until the middle of 1918. In February, 1919, at the national congress of the railwaymen's unions, it was re-organised into a national federation of the prevailing type.</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">TABLE IIb.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 18. National federation of railwaymen. 19. " " " builders. } will 20. " " " cementers. } shortly 21. " " " woodworkers. } amalgamate. 22. " " " workers in the public food service. 23. National federation of revenue officers and employees (is about to amalgamate with the bank clerks). 24. National federation of tobacco workers. 25. " " " artistic workers. |

- 26. " " workers of the soil)
- 27. " " hairdressers.
- 28. " " domestic workers.
- 29. " " municipal employees (about to be dissolved).
- 30. National federation of foresters (about to amalgamate with the union of the workers of the soil).
- 31. National federation of educationalists and socialist propagandists.

DISTRICT UNIONS:

- 32. Miners (about to amalgamate with the National federation of metalworkers).
- 33. Organising bureau for summoning a national congress of transport workers (to be held in October, 1919).

These tables show that the 28 extant unions have been absorbed by 18 national federations. The total number of national federations is now 33; but in spite of the fact that national unions are still being created, the total number of national federations will gradually diminish through further fusion and amalgamations.

Briefly summarising the tendencies of organisation during the latest phases of the trade-union movement in Russia, we may emphasise the following trends:—

1. We are passing from trade unions on a craft basis to industrial unions based upon production and upon branches of social economy. Great national federations tend to absorb the unions formed in groups of kindred industries.

2. From the first stage, in which trade unions were purely local bodies, we have passed to district unions, and thence to the formation of national federations.

3. The tendency is to pass from complete autonomy, by way of the federation, to an international trade union with a centralised treasury and centralised management.

The second national trade-union congress, held in January, 1919, had an abundance of material at its disposal, and was in a position to profit by nearly two years' experience of the trade-union movement. We must point out that during these two years, eighteen months were spent in the atmosphere of the

proletarian dictatorship. This has brought up new problems for solution. It has given the whole movement a new form and a new direction. For these reasons, the second congress has played a most important part in our movement, as is testified by the fact that its labours were undertaken in a particularly serious spirit, no less than by the fact that it found a definite solution for the practical problems with which Russian trade unionists are faced.

The second congress made no attempt to evade thorny questions. It gave the most explicit recognition to the principles of unity of structure, strict discipline, and centralisation, prescribing these as conditions essential to the satisfactory development of the trade-union movement.

Already, not more than six months after the second trade-union congress, the general scheme of organisation drawn up by the congress has been almost universally realised, notwithstanding all the embarrassments which affect the trade unions in conjunction with the whole of Soviet Russia.

M. TOMSKI,

President of the Central National
Trade-Union Soviet.

[TRANSLATORS' NOTE.—The Russians speak of a trade union as a "professional union," what we term a national federation is by them called an "all-Russian union." It has seemed preferable to employ familiar English terms.—E. &



The "Communist Saturdays."

The Petrograd committee of the Russian Communist Party resolved a few days ago that the members of the party should hand over their Saturday earnings to the executive committee of the Third International, which will use these contributions to create a special fund for the help of the fraternal Communist parties in Europe and America. Above all, the money will be used in aid of the Communists who languish in the jails of Germany, Britain, France, etc. Thus anyone who participates in these "Saturdays" is not merely fulfilling his Communist obligations, but is doing his duty to the cause of international solidarity.

The executive committee has sent an appeal to the Communists in other towns, asking them to take the same course. What are these "Communist Saturdays"?

Those who seek the answer to this question need merely go out into the streets of Moscow or Petrograd any Saturday afternoon towards five or six o'clock. In orderly files Communist workers of both sexes, singing revolutionary songs, wend their way to the appointed places, and there, until a late hour, they unload trucks, saw wood, and perform other useful work. In these activities the Communist Party shows itself to be the vanguard of the working class; setting an example of self-denial and labour discipline.

The idea of organising the Communist Saturdays originated with the central committee of the Communist Party, which issued an appeal to the masses drawing their attention to the need for "working like true revolutionists." The call was splendidly answered by the organised workers. The first to grasp the full significance of the words "working like true revolutionists" were Communists and sympathisers on the staff of the Moscow-Kazan railway. They unanimously voted that on and after the tenth of May they would work six hours every Saturday without pay, in order to increase the productivity of labour. From the seventeenth of May the "Saturdays" were adopted by Communists and sympathisers on the Alexander railway.

The example of the Moscow comrades was promptly followed by Communists in other towns. Petrograd came into line. Saratov organised its Saturdays, beginning with June 5th. Orenburg, Viatka, and many other places followed suit. Red Petrograd, above all, took the initiative in organising the Saturdays on a vast scale, so that the entire city came to participate. In Petrograd, the Communist workers, who had whole-heartedly and fraternally taken up this idea of Saturday work, were soon joined by numerous sympathisers and "indifferents." The number of "Saturday workers" in Petrograd is still increasing. On August 16th, the first Saturday,

there were 5175; on August 23rd, there were 7650; On August 30th, 7900; on September 6th, 10,250; on September 13th, 10,500. Thus the total for the five weeks was 41,475.

In money terms, the work done during the first five Saturdays at Petrograd represents the respectable figure of roubles 1,167,188.

Within the last few days, the Moscow committee of the Russian Communist Party has likewise determined to inaugurate the Saturdays upon a large scale, so that the entire city may participate. With this end in view it has established a registration office by which Saturday labours will be organised.

Comrade Lenin has recently published a pamphlet entitled "A Great Initiative." From this we call the following interesting details concerning the productivity of Saturday labour.

The intensity of lading work, on the Saturdays, was 270 per cent. greater than that of normal work. In other spheres of labour a like difference was noted.

"A Communist Saturday represents the entire week's work of slack and indifferent labourers."

On the Alexander railway, in four hours, five turners produced 80 small cylinders, the productivity being 213 per cent. above average. Twenty workers handled 600 pounds of scrap-iron and 70 railway-carriage springs each weighing 3½ pounds—this representing a 300 per cent. advance upon the normal productivity of labour.

In a lecture on the Saturdays, delivered at a general meeting of the party, Comrade Zinoviev spoke as follows:—"The Saturdays will teach us how to increase the productivity of labour; they will be a splendid school. A few thousand men, setting the masses an example of self-denial, will teach the workers how to increase the productivity of labour. The working class, when it is in power, does not think merely of setting others to work. It wants to work; but to work in its own behalf."

The enormous importance of the Saturdays, to the Communist Party, to the proletariat, and to the whole working community now in process of formation, is explained by Lenin in the before-mentioned pamphlet. He writes:—

"The organisation of 'Communist Saturdays' by the workers, on their own initiative, is an event of incalculable significance. It is only a first step, but as such it is of exceptional importance. We see in it the opening phase of a revolution more difficult, more indispensable, more radical, more decisive, than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie; for it is the victory over our own apathy, our slackness, our petty bourgeois selfishness; it is a victory over the habits which the evil heritage of capitalism has transmitted to the worker and the peasant. When this

victory shall have been consummated, then and then only will a new social discipline, a Socialist discipline, have been established; then and then only will the relapse to capitalism have become impossible; then and then only will Communism be invincible.

"We should do well to meditate deeply upon the significance of the 'Communist Saturdays,' that we may derive from the study of this splendid initiative the overwhelmingly important practical lessons it can teach."

"It would be an excellent thing if we were to expunge the word Communism from the vocabulary of everyday life, if we were to forbid the current loose employment of the term, if we were to allow it to be used only to denote genuine Communes which have shown themselves to be workable, which are admitted by the whole surrounding population to have demonstrated their capacity for Communist functioning. Begin by showing that you are yourselves able to do unpaid labour, in the interest of

society, in the interest of all the workers; that you are able to 'work like true revolutionists' to increase the productivity of labour, to set an example to others. Then you will have earned the right to apply to yourselves the proud name of 'Commune.' . . .

"Proletarian labour of such a kind as embodied and practically realised in the 'Communist Saturday' will inspire the peasant class with love and respect for the proletarian commonwealth. Such labour, and nothing else, will definitely convince the peasant that our cause is just, that Communism is just. This alone will persuade the peasant to become our disinterested collaborator. In other words, this alone will enable us completely to solve the problem of food-supply, will enable us to triumph once for all over capitalism in the domain of the production and distribution of bread. Then will ensue the undeniable consolidation of Communism."

E. K.

Fritz Adler Threatens the Austrian Bourgeoisie, But---

Fritz Adler threatens the Austrian bourgeoisie, but they are idle threats.

Under the title, "A Serious Warning," the "Arbeiter Zeitung" publishes the following resolution, passed on April 30th by the executive committee of the Soviets of German Austria:—

"The Labour organisations of Austria have never ceased working resolutely and with discipline in order that the revolutionary transformation rendered inevitable by the war shall be effected by mutual understanding, and in order that the new institutions may be brought into existence without any breach of public order. But we warn the bourgeoisie against false interpretations of the calm manifested by the workers. The proletariat has inalterably determined to realise by the establishment of Socialism the advances rendered possible by the defeat of Austro-German Imperialism. The vicissitudes of electoral arithmetic will not be able to place obstacles in the road of the workers. The real relationships between the various forces in this country are not affected by the existence of a bourgeois majority in the committees of the National Assembly. The proletariat knows itself to be the class which has to decide issues of State. In all circumstances, it will unhesitatingly throw its legitimate influence into the scale. The workers will not allow a few representatives of exploiting capital in the National Assembly to trample on their rights."

"The proletariat remains calm, convinced that Socialisation will be honestly carried out. It is absolutely determined to work vigorously towards this end. The governmental scheme, drafted under the ægis of the exploiters, represents merely our

minimum demands, and cannot be regarded as anything more than the first step towards the inevitable social transformation. For this reason, we invite the bourgeois parties to renounce their criminal design of modifying the Socialisation scheme in any capitalist sense. They must not even attempt to postpone the examination of the scheme. The terms of the vote upon the question of expropriation will show clearly what we have to expect from the National Assembly. These terms will show whether the National Assembly fully understands the gravity of the situation, and whether it realises the inalterable resolve of the proletariat."

"On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Workers' Soviet of German Austria,

"A. BAUER

"FRIEDRICH ADLER."

Fritz Adler, having lost his Socialist convictions, would seem to have lost his sense of the ridiculous as well.

Fritz Adler helps Herr Renner and the other Socialist traitors in Austria to disarm the Communist workers. He is thus lending aid to the Austrian junkers, bourgeoisie, and generals; he is helping them to arm themselves against the workers.

Such is Fritz Adler's role. As for his threats against the generals and the bourgeoisie, we look upon them as nothing more than scraps of paper, at which the workers and bourgeoisie alike laugh.

Bear in mind, Citizen Adler, that if you give the devil an inch he will take an ell.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

A Letter from France.

We particularly wish to draw our readers' attention to the subjoined letter. It is of extreme interest, and gives a clear picture of our French comrades' efforts. We hope for similar letters from other lands. — EDITORIAL NOTE

Day by day we may see the growth of the revolutionary spirit in France. The time when a half-dozen or so of imprisoned Anarchists and as many Kientzians and Zimmerwaldians, scattered through the Socialist Party and the trade unions, seemed to be preaching in the desert is now no more than a distant memory. The popularity of Albert Thomas and Marcel Sembat, Socialist Ministers if you please, has vanished like the smoke of yester year. Events move rapidly, and a crisis approaches. Demobilisation, though delayed as much as possible and still incomplete, has sent the soldiers into the towns and the rural districts hundreds of thousands of poilus upon whom the lessons of the war have not been lost. Henri Barbusse had already shown them to us in the trenches, plastered with mud, bleeding and wretched, admitting Liebknecht and cherishing the new revolutionary gospel in 1915 and 1916, nearly two years before the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, more than two years before the martyrdom of Liebknecht. The majorities might do their utmost to stuff the soldiers' heads with patriotic literature; the men would already be thinking their own thoughts and already killing of their own. Since they returned to their homes there has been a sudden and irresistible movement of the Left, displacing the centre of gravity of the Labour movement. The official leaders are now generals without an army. The official dodgers and those who honestly believed in the senseless making of the war for right, the war for national defence, and the rest of it, now at a loose end and it extremely difficult to maintain their balance between the revolutionary masses on the one hand and their own official Socialism on the other nor the latter is gently crumbling to pieces. This is the explanation of the position occupied by the centrists, from Longuet to Marcel Cachin, whose speeches and whose writings in "l'Humanité," "Le Peuple," etc., are devoted to the defence of Sovietism but who refuse to break with the comrades who have been Ministers, and with the candidates for the Ministry, with the Renaudels and the Thibaudes on this side of the Rhine, the Scheidemanns and the Eberts in Germany. Marcel Cachin, a moderate Centrist, who since the victory of the ex-Minority has become editor of

"l'Humanité," continues from the Parliamentary rostrum to utter revolutionary harangues against intervention in Russia. His approval of the mutiny among the French troops at Odessa, his appeals to revolt, his articles which at times seem strangely out of place in the columns of what used to be Renaudel's journal, show clearly that the leaders are now being led by the revolutionary masses.

Furthermore, the Bolshevik peril is daily denounced by the chief newspapers. The "Temps," in serious semi-official style, stigmatises Cachin, Mayéras, and Longuet as Bolsheviks, so that one cannot forbear smiling. "L'Echo de Paris" affirms that Bolshevism has now taken official root in France, and vituperates through all its columns against the "bad Frenchmen" who have acclimatised the noxious weed. The gutter press, which lives by blackmail and sensationalism, the papers of MM. Bunau-Varilla, Letellier (Humbert-Lenoir) etc., are never weary of retailing "Bolshevist atrocities," and of talking about the "red terror" at Petrograd. If we are to believe these gentry, "the streets of Petrograd and Moscow are blocked with the corpses of those who have perished from famine or pestilence, for the authorities cannot cope with the task of burying the dead." At this moment the cinemas of Paris are showing a film entitled "Bolshevist Barbarism."

Beyond question, Bolshevism, intervention, the social revolution, are regular topics of discussion. "La France Libre," the organ of the forty-one (or forty-two) Patriotic Socialist Deputies, a paper well supplied with Russian news, was the first to publish the manifesto of the Third International, subsequently reproduced by "l'Humanité." Praises of Lenin and Trotski are common in the Socialist press. I have before me an article from "l'Humanité" extolling "Lenin's brilliant inspirations," which make of him "one of the leading statesmen of our day." Furthermore, the personal integrity of the leaders of the Russian revolution is freely acknowledged even by those who were wont to abuse them.

It is no longer the fashion to affect an aristocratic contempt for the Russian revolution. There are good reasons for the change of front, for the danger has grown manifest, and warnings must be emphatic. Consequently while Gustave Hervé, the buffoon,

"It is well known that M. Lenoir, owner of "Le Journal," was sentenced to death for having bought this newspaper with German gold, and that Charles Humbert, senator and super-patriot, another owner of "Le Journal," charged with being privy to these intrigues, barely escaped penal servitude.

counterposes to the class struggle of Teutonic Socialism the class collaboration of his own "French Socialism," and while he advocates the formation of a National Socialist Party—M. Letailleur (who writes under the pseudonym of "Lysis"), man of business and editor of "Démocratie Nouvelle," spins wordy yarns upon the "imminent universal revolution." In his opinion the revolution will break out first in Italy, and will then make its way across the Alps. This time, perhaps, M. Lysis may be a true prophet.

To avert the perils of Bolshevik propaganda, the boardings are covered with proclamations, pictures, and manifestoes, which have the very opposite effect to that desired by their authors. They arouse curiosity and awaken interest. No one is astonished now, that they find answers. One way in which they are answered is by "stickers." These are frequently pasted over the anti-Bolshevik placards, and their text usually ends with the words, "Long live the Soviets!"

It need hardly be said that there is an anti-Bolshevik Press. Burtsev still publishes "La Cause Commune," which nobody reads, although it purports to be written in French. The newspaper world sings Burtsev's praises. He can see only two forces in Russia, Lenin and Kolchak, and, of course, he adjuces all true Russians, all good Russians and friends of Russia, to close ranks around Kolchak. Taking alarm at Finnish designs for aggrandisement, he insists that Petrograd must be occupied by the Allied troops. In Burtsev's case we certainly have good reason for putting the question so often propounded during the war. Where does the money come from? His agency "Union" has a large staff; there is no lack of funds for printing. But the answer to the question is obvious.

A new anti-Bolshevik organ has recently been founded. "La Garde Blanche" is at once anti-Bolshevik and anti-Semite. It describes itself as "a counter-revolutionary journal." The quill-drivers who write for this periodical wish to set up a White organisation to counteract the power of the Reds. Marxism and Bolshevism, according to them, are both of Jewish origin. These writers are fairly well informed concerning the revolutionary movement, and they do their utmost to distort all the facts relating to it. This must be lucrative work. Quite recently they were clamouring for a court-martial and the guillotine as a short way to deal with Péricat and his friends. Short and simple. The matter is of no importance, except for the indication it gives as to the state of mind of the five-and-twenty or thirty lawyers and men of means who subsidise "La Garde Blanche." If the terrors of the French bourgeoisie are already so shamelessly and stupidly displayed, if these fears can be so readily exploited, we may assume that the bourgeoisie sees the writing on the wall.

There can no longer be any doubt as to the leftward trend of the masses. A few examples, almost insignificant facts, will suffice to show the vast change which a single year has effected in the out-

look of the French worker. As one instance among many, I choose the physiognomy of a Socialist meeting I attended not long ago. Jean Longuet, Renoulet, and Lorient were to speak, respectively representing the three sections into which the Unified Socialist Party is now in fact divided. The hall was packed with workers, soldiers, shop assistants, clerks, and so on. From the first the audience split into two factions, and it was obvious that the revolutionaries predominated. Lorient spoke first, and received an ovation. His speech was definitely Communist. He devoted himself to casting Wilson's double-faced policy of intervention in doubt. Quoting Gorki, he said that Wilson is now the leader of world Imperialism.—Longuet took up his pen in defence of Wilson, describing the President as a sincere democrat, a great democrat. "Gorki is misinformed," Longuet had a quiet head, for Longuet, because his paper, "La Populaire," continues to defend the Russian revolution, is not regarded with goodwill by those who fail to recognise the dangers of the policy he has chosen—a policy of tacking to and fro between the revolution and the traitors to Socialism.—But directly Renoulet rose to speak the storm began. So great was the hubbub that not a word could be heard. To the appearance, he begged his opponents to put some one who would explain the reasons for this destruction. Sirolle thereupon spoke briefly, saying, "Long have you been a traitor to the working class! If you were in power, they would be shooting the best of the revolutionaries!"

Speaking generally, the patriotic Socialists can no longer show their faces in public. On the other hand, among Socialist speakers who address many meetings and are favourably received by the workers, I may mention Alexandre Blanc (Kientalian, sympathetic to Bolshevism), and Maurice Delépine (Minorilian belonging to the Verfeuil and Lorient group).

The Centrists (Longuet's group) attempt to justify their middle course by appealing to the nature of the French peasants, who are, they say, utterly opposed to revolution. In addition, they blame the Russian Bolsheviks for having completely broken with democracy. On the whole, as always happens, the Centre wobbles indecisively. Nevertheless, its trend is leftward, in spite of the best efforts of the leaders. Ere long, unquestionably, the more active elements in this Left wing of the Centre will join the Communist Party.

Great public demonstrations, which become increasingly revolutionary, indicate that the French proletariat has an urgent desire for action. The "democratic" Governments of the Republic have never authorised Socialist demonstrations. Those which have actually taken place of late, the great Jaurès demonstration, the tumultuous First of May, the burial of Lorne, the counter-demonstration of July 14th, have been signs of the times. Lorne was a workman who had been killed by a policeman on the First of May. All the Paris workers attended

his funeral a few days later. The demonstration was jointly organised by the C.G.T., by the Socialist Party, by the Parliament Group, and by the Free-thinkers; more than 300,000 persons took part in it. There was no question of prohibition or interference. The police would have been absolutely swept away by the force of the workers. Their resistance would have gone for nothing, as the resistance of the former leaders within the movement went for nothing. The police, therefore, kept out of the way. The old leaders, making the best of a bad job, pretended to lead on this occasion. Dubouche, who had been wounded on May 1st, Lissadelle, Thomas, Mayéras, and others, headed the procession to Père Lachaise Cemetery. The hearse was covered with flowers, wreaths, and sprays, and with red streamers. Literature sellers with pamphlets were selling revolutionary newspapers all over the place. A number of strikes were going on at this time, and owing to the bank clerks' strike the banks were being guarded by the soldiers. The metal-workers were also on strike. The metal-workers were preparing to take action on June 1st. There was a grave menace to those in authority, but it came to nothing a few days later owing to Merheim's action. By the whole working population of Paris, Lorne's funeral was seized as an opportunity for displaying the will to fight.

It was also an opportunity for demonstrating against the prosecution which had followed the First of May. A Russian comrade who had been arrested in the street, and on whose person had been found a tool (not a weapon), was condemned to five years' penal servitude. Bertin, secretary of the third Paris branch of the Socialist Party, and several other comrades had been sentenced to months of imprisonment. An example of the persecution of the Russians may be noted. Bismund, a writer of Russian birth, art critic, and contributor to Socialist journals, was without either reason or explanation interned in a concentration camp where hundreds of Russians have been confined for months and years. Protests voiced among others in Moscow and France, were fruitless.

The French Communists are working in this atmosphere of struggle between the masses and the reaction. They display great activity. On July 14th (the French national festival, which the reactionaries this year wished to turn into a day of "Jingo" intoxication) the Federation of the Mutilated and the Anarchist Federation succeeded in organising a revolutionary counter-demonstration led by Comrade Henri Torrès. It was forcibly broken up. The leading newspapers, which would have preferred to say nothing of the matter, were constrained to admit that "there were casualties on both sides."

The state of mind of the soldiers and blue-jackets has been symptomatically clear. It is well known that the mutinies and the propaganda work of the French Communist soldiers at Russia led to the evacuation of that town. In Brez, blue-jackets refusing to sail to Russia were arrested. Chief-Mechanic Marty is

undergoing twenty years' penal servitude at Toulon for having attempted to hand over the Prothée, a torpedo-boat destroyer, to the Russian Communists. During his trial he proudly termed himself a Bolshevik.

The Communist Party has actually been founded in France. Yet more important is the fact that the Communist movement, which preceded the establishment of the party and which has a wider scope than the party, continues to spread. The steps which led to the formation of the Communist Party were mainly guided by the Syndicalist group of R. Péricat. This comrade, editor of "L'Internationale," is of opinion that France will pass through the same revolutionary stages as Russia. The Moderate Socialists will first come to power, and we must make ready to seize power from their hands. With this end in view, Péricat desires to bring about a union of all the revolutionary elements, comprising the Left-wing Socialists, the Syndicalists, and the Anarchists.

Although Anarchist meetings are prohibited, they are held under shelter of the trade unions. Comrades Boudoux, Levêque, Génold, Content, and Andrieux are among the Anarchists devoted to the Soviet cause. They regard the general strike as the chief weapon of the revolutionary proletariat, and they have no doubt that the revolution is imminent. Andrieux has recently brought information concerning the state of mind of workers in the provinces. St. Etienne, Lyons, and the other great industrial centres, are just as revolutionary as Paris. Revolutionary groups are springing up everywhere. Had it not been for the intervention, the treason, of Merheim, the May strikes would have been of outstanding importance.

Side by side with the Federation of the Mutilated and the Anarchist Federation, in the first rank of all the bodies that are holding public demonstrations, we must now place the young people's organisations—the Young Socialists, the Young Syndicalists, the Groups of Revolutionary Students. The young intellectuals are permeated with revolutionary ideas. Their leaders, among whom may be mentioned Georges Pioch and P. Vaillant-Couturier, are in everything that is afoot.

A few words must now be said concerning the press of the forward movement. Under the impulsion of the masses, the Socialist organs have been forced to adapt themselves to the situation, to become revolutionary, to defend the Soviets from day to day. Such is the position of the three dailies, "L'Humanité," "Le Populaire," and "Le Journal du Peuple" (edited by Henri Fabry, with the collaboration of H. Torrès, Léon Werth, Séverine, Charles Rappoport, Boris Souvarine, and R. Verfeuil). Georges Pioch continues to produce "Les Hommes du Jour," a weekly, which addresses itself chiefly to young intellectuals and artists; it was one of the first periodicals to announce its unstinted admiration for the leaders of the Russian revolution. Pierre Brizon and Marcelle Capy edit "La Vague," which has a wide circulation owing to its revolutionary

lone. Brizon is loath to cast in his lot frankly with the Bolsheviks, but every line of his journal shows that he has no doubt as to what his readers' sympathies are. To the School Teachers' Federation the revolutionary movement is indebted for such good fighters as Lucie Colliard, Hélène Brion, the two Mayeux, Chauvelon, and Marcel Martinet; their organ, "l'Ecole de la Fédération," carries on valuable revolutionary propaganda. The revolutionary Syndicalists publish "l'Internationale," explicitly Communist, edited by Péricat, and "La Vie Ouvrière," edited by P. Monatte, Rosmer, etc. "L'Avenir Internationale," on which André Girard, Boris Souvarine, Amedée Dunois, Boudoux, Dumoulin, etc., collaborate, is Syndicalist and Anarchist in trend. The Anarchist organ, "Le Libertaire," suppressed during the war, has reappeared, and has a great circulation. The contributors to various extinct periodicals "Ce qu'il faut dire," "La Plèbe," and "Franchise" (notably Rhillon, Content, Génold, and Le Rétif), devote their energies to the resuscitated "Libertaire." Comrade Anquetil founded a periodical called "Le Bolshéviste." The democratic censorship refused to allow it to appear with so subversive a title. It is now issued under the spicy name of "Titre Censuré," and its circulation has recently doubled.

It will be seen that the French Communists have quite a number of periodicals in which to disseminate their views. There is no doubt that if they could get together, their influence would be greatly enhanced. The foundation of the Communist Party was largely the work of the Committee of the Third International founded by the Zimmerwaldian group of the Unified Socialist Party. This group, led by Comrade Lorient, exercises a growing influence. Recently a committee has been formed to study the problems which the new-born Communist Party has to face. This committee consists of Zimmerwaldian Socialists, of Syndicalists, and Anarchists—all are active trade unionists. The Zimmerwaldians are Cartier, Louise Saumoneau, Chauvelon (school teachers), Lorient (teachers), Louise Kauffman and Monmousseau (railwaymen). The Syndicalists are P. Monatte, M. Martinet (school teachers); Péricat (secretary of the Builders' Federation), Hasfeld (secretary of the Hatters' Union). The Anarchists are Sirolle and Dondon (Basketmakers' Union).

Frédéric Stackelberg, sometime contributor to the "Guerre Sociale," has also joined the movement.

Among the organisations which have been the first to join the Third International and the Communist Party may be mentioned: the Young Syndicalists of the Seine, the Socialist Federation of the Rhône, the Angoulême branch of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Federation of Vaucluse, the Builders' Union of Marseilles, the Finistère School Teachers' Union, the Internationalist Group of Nîmes, etc., etc.

The Communist Party looks forward to organising the French Soviets by giving a liberal autonomy to these three fraternal trends. The trade unions, the co-operatives, the revolutionary groups, the com-

munes, the Freethinkers, and the tenants' groups, will participate in the elections. In "l'Internationale," Paul Jouteau has briefly summarised the aims of the new Communist Party:

"Complete self-government for the Commune. No bourgeoisie, no proletariat, no God, no nations, no capitalism, no salariat. Temporary dictatorship of the proletariat until Communism has been consolidated. No complicated machinery, no long speeches. The day for serious organisation has arrived. We invite the French Communists to follow us along this road. Towards the Communist organisation of the workers by hand and brain. For the Third International!"

The masses, even those who have nothing to do with any revolutionary organisation, the wasters in the streets, are becoming increasingly thoughtful. They incline more and more towards direct action. You will not forget the ceaseless activities of the Tenants' Union, directed against M. Vauclair (Mr. Vulture, emblematic of the town landlord, a house profiteer.—E. and C.P.). Now at length the consumers' leagues, weary of futile parleyings and useless petitions, are preparing to take the power, the retailer, the profiteer by the throat. In many places it has come to blows between consumers and unscrupulous shopkeepers, and this is only a beginning. Quite recently, in the central markets at Paris, remarkable scenes took place. The new prices fixed by the authorities were not satisfactory to the Consumers' League, and on the morning of August 12th this body organised a demonstration at the central market. Should we call it merely a demonstration? The profiteers were thrashed, their stalls were torn to pieces, and the field of battle was strewn with trampled fowls, vegetables, broken eggs, etc. Despite the intervention of the police and the republican guard, it was impossible to restore business. The demonstrators then paraded the streets of Paris. Wherever their approach was signalled, the shops were hastily closed. Next morning the traders at the markets refused to sell, and the food supply of Paris was held up. Disturbances occurred in all the markets, for feeling ran high on both sides. Here the crowd cleared a shop-front; there the shopkeepers mobbed a "Matin" reporter who was noting down their prices. The authorities are at their wits' end. On the one hand the citizens of Paris seem to have made up their minds that they will not allow themselves to be plundered any longer as they were plundered during the heyday of the war; on the other hand the shopkeepers are on strike, and, of course, the powers that be sympathise with the shopkeepers. "Energetic measures will be taken to maintain order." The old song! If the organisers, for their part, also take energetic measures and if our comrades know how to intervene at the right moment, the owners, the profiteers, and the "coppers" will have a lively quarter of an hour.

August, 1919.

JEAN FABRICE.

Progress of the International Communist Movement

Socialism in Great Britain.

An English comrade, a well-known Communist, addresses the following letter to Lenin. It gives a clear picture of the present condition of the Socialist movement in England, and definitely formulates the problem of the relationship between Communism and Parliamentarism.

Comrade Lenin's reply is a detailed exposition of the Communist outlook on the question.

These two documents, which are of extreme interest, have been sent to us by Lenin for publication. — EDITORIAL NOTE.

July 16th, 1915

Dear Comrade Lenin,

I am looking for a talk with you. As I see the matter, our movement in Great Britain is ruined by Parliamentarism, and by the County Councils and Town Councils. People wish to be elected to these bodies. The majority wish to exercise their electoral rights. All work for Socialism is subordinated to these ends. Socialist propaganda is suppressed for fear of losing votes. Those elected, full of self-importance, show the utmost tolerance for the abuses of the capitalist system.

I am convinced that it is impossible—in this country, at least—to awaken a revolutionary spirit in persons who want to win elections. Class consciousness seems to vanish as the elections draw nigh. A party which gains electoral successes is a party lost as far as revolutionary action is concerned. You know how things stand in this country, but I will give a summary account of our parties. They are the following:—

1. The Labour Party is mainly a trade-union amalgamation for political purposes. It is narrow in its outlook, lacks idealism, and is not Socialist.

2. The Independent Labour Party is to a large extent bourgeois in composition and opinion, and many of its members are ultra-religious.

3. The British Socialist Party fancies itself to be much more advanced than the I.L.P., but is often little better from the Communist outlook. Both these parties think too much of electoral successes, and when they have gained such successes they almost invariably abandon the workers.

4. The revolutionary industrial workers, those who believe in direct action, are the most hopeful elements. Among them there are men of great ability and with wide sympathies, endowed too with the stubbornness which will be essential when the revolution comes. But they often lack organising

capacity outside the narrow field they have chosen.

All these sections have been influenced to a varying degree by the Russian revolution. The official leaders of the Labour Party are uneasy, and some of their adherents have gone over to group 4. As regards the I.L.P., in this body likewise the leaders are perturbed, to say the least of it; from this camp, too, there have been desertions to the industrialist camp. The B.S.P. is divided, for some of its members are timid and hang in the wind, while others are moving towards the industrialists. The revolutionary industrialists have long cherished the idea of organising society upon a Soviet basis. Such was their scheme before Soviets had ever been heard of in the West, but their aims have naturally been clarified by the news from Russia. Nearly all of them are manual workers, chiefly miners and engineers, but there are some of them in every industry. They have an utter contempt for Parliamentary action, and will never enter into an alliance with a party that runs candidates for Parliamentary or local elections. The Workers' Committees and the Shop Stewards may be classed with the revolutionary industrial workers of group 4, but are often less advanced than these.

5. The Socialist Labour Party may be said to be anti-Parliamentarian on the whole. At the last general election, however, it ran several candidates, thus, to a large extent, forfeiting the confidence of the revolutionary industrialists in group 4, of which its membership is largely composed.

6. The Workers' Socialist Federation is smaller and younger than the other parties. Owing to the circumstances under which it came into being, a very large proportion of its members are women, although most of its new adherents are men. More than any of the others it is the party of the poorer stratum of the workers. Its activities are carried on at street corners, and its headquarters are in the East End of London. At the last annual conference, Whitsuntide, 1919, it transformed itself into a Communist Party, but upon the proposal of Comrade R. and a few others, it was agreed that it should continue to work under the old name for the present, pending the results of the efforts that are being made to form a united Communist Party.

7. The South Wales Socialist Society. This is a local body of advanced views, formed a year ago by the Welsh miners. Its outlook is closely similar to that of the revolutionary industrialists.

The Communist Party in this country will perhaps

be formed by a fusion of the B.S.P., the S.L.P., the W.S.F., and the S.W.S.S. Some declare that group A, the revolutionary industrialists, will not join as a body, although individuals of this trend may become members. I am fairly hopeful as to the possibilities of a fusion of all the groups named.

Why do I tell you all this? To lead up to my opinion that the question of action on the Parliamentary field keeps everything back. The B.S.P. and the S.L.P. still cling to the idea of running Parliamentary candidates, and this is repugnant to the revolutionary industrial workers, the W.S.F., and the S.W.S.S.

It will be difficult for you to realise that class consciousness in this country is a very tender plant, far more tender than in any other land. I doubt if you are aware that political intrigue is at once more vigorous and more subtle in Britain than elsewhere.

I wish you would let us know your views of action upon the Parliamentary field. I have read your letter to the Finnish Communists. We need such a message here. I wish you would write something to hasten our progress outside the limits of reformism. Your words make people think; make those think, at least, who really desire the revolution. If you were here, I believe you would say: Concentrate your forces upon revolutionary action; have nothing to do with the Parliamentary machine. Such is my own view. I do not believe that there is any country in the world in which the extant machinery of political life is so difficult for the workers to control, or that there is any other country in which that machinery is so aptly constructed to circumvent their aims.

Yours fraternally,

P.S.—I want to make you understand that the mass of industrial workers; or at any rate an increasing proportion of them, really want a revolution, and only need guidance towards its organisation. But we are so slow to move and the world owes so much to Russia for having given us a lead! You tell us that determining conditions have led to the result, and, of course, you are right. But your clear exposition of this fact opens new vistas. As we read your writings, we understand that in Russia a lengthy propaganda prepared the people to take advantage of these determining conditions.

If only we could unite all those who believe in the revolution; if we could only get them to work for the revolution instead of thinking about the elections. Apart from propaganda, we have organisation to consider, and in this respect we are like children lost in a wood or explorers in an unknown land. We have to explore every alley and to be ready to seize the favourable chance. We shall do our best, but an address or an article from you would help us to concentrate our energies in this direction. Stirring counsel from you would be of enormous value. As for propaganda, people often say here, "We are

not out to make trouble; the Government's actions will determine the struggle." They speak as if it were a disgrace to make difficulties for capitalism!

II

Lenin's Reply.

August 2, 1919.

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of July 16th did not reach me until yesterday. I am greatly indebted to you for your information concerning the Finnish movement, and I will do my best to answer your question.

I have no doubt that among the proletarians, a great number of workers, the best, the most sincere, the most genuinely revolutionary, are hostile to Parliamentaryism and opposed to all action on the Parliamentary field. This phenomenon becomes easier to understand in proportion as, in any given country, capitalist culture and bourgeois democracy are of long standing. In the lands where Parliamentary government is of ancient date, the bourgeoisie has become a past master in hypocrisy! It has learned a thousand tricks by which the people can be deceived. It represents bourgeois Parliamentaryism as "generalised democracy," as "pure democracy," and so on, skilfully concealing the innervable lies between Parliament and the stock-exchange, between Parliament and the capitalists; it avails itself of all the resources of a corrupt press, and employs money, the power of capital, to subserve its ends in every possible way.

Unquestionably, the Communist International and the Communist parties of various countries would commit an irreparable blunder were they to alienate those among the workers who, while advocating Sovietism, refuse to participate in the Parliamentary struggle. If we keep to generalities, if we remain on the theoretical plane, it is this very programme, that of the struggle for the Soviets, for the Soviet Republic, which at this juncture can only should unite, despite minor differences of opinion, all the honest and sincere revolutionists among the workers. Many Anarchist workers are now convinced advocates of the Soviet cause, thus showing themselves to be good comrades and friends. We must see that they opposed Marxism only through a misunderstanding. Or rather, to speak more accurately, they opposed Marxism because official Socialism, the Socialism that was dominant during the heyday of the Second International (1889 to 1911), betrayed Marxism, mutilated Marx's revolutionary teaching in general, and his teaching on what was to be learned from the Commune of Paris (1871) in particular. I have dealt with these matters in my book, "The State and Revolution," and shall not now delay to discuss them further.

What are we to do, then, in any given country, convinced Communists, those who are prepared to

devote all their energies to revolutionary work, those who are sincere advocates of the Soviet power (of the "Soviet system," as people sometimes phrase it outside Russia), cannot quite because they disagree upon this question of Parliamentary action?

I feel that this difference of opinion is of no outstanding importance at the moment, seeing that the struggle for Soviet power is the political struggle of the proletariat in its highest, most conscious, most revolutionary form. It is better to make common cause with the revolutionary workers when they are mistaken upon some matter of detail, upon some question of secondary importance, than to make common cause with official Socialists or Social Democrats who are not truly and honest revolutionists! who are not aiming at revolutionary work among the masses, but who nevertheless put forward upon a given question opinions which conform to our own notions of sound tactics. The question of Parliamentarism is at present a question of detail, a secondary matter. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were right in my opinion, when at Berlin, during the conference of January, 1919, they defended, in opposition to the majority, the participation of the Spartacists in the elections for the German bourgeois Parliament; that is to say, for the National Constituent Assembly. But it goes without saying that they were still more right in remaining with the Communists only, which was making a minor tactical error. If they would have been wrong to leave the party on account of this difference, and to join forces with the Socialists of the Right wing - to join forces with those as Scheidemann and his party; or to join forces with those servile souls, the doctrinaires, the politicians, the mules who serve the bourgeoisie, the reformists (for that is all they are) like Kautsky, Haase, Thälberg, and the whole group of "independent" German Socialists.

For my own part, I am convinced that the revolutionary British workers are mistaken in their refusal to participate in the Parliamentary elections. But it is better to make this mistake than to delay the formation of a vigorous working-class party of British Communists composed of all the elements you enumerate, of those who sympathise with Bolshevism and are sincere partisans of the Soviet Republic. If, for instance, there are in the B.S.P. convinced Bolsheviks who, owing to the opinions they hold anent Parliamentary action, refuse to join with the other groups you name for the foundation of a Communist Party, the mistake such Bolsheviks will make will, in my view, be a thousandfold greater than the mistake of those who refuse to participate in the elections for the British bourgeois Parliament. I am assuming, of course, that those who comprise the anti-Parliamentarians in the other groups you name are really of and with the workers, and that they do not consist (as so often happens in England) of nothing better than little coteries of intellectuals. In this connection, the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards are of great importance, for they are be-

yond question intimately associated with the working masses?

For that is essential for the Communist Party, that it should be intimately and continuously associated with the working masses, that it should be able to carry on constant agitation among the workers, to take part in every strike, to answer all the questions that agitate the minds of the masses. Above all is this necessary in such a country as Britain, where hitherto (as, indeed, in all Imperialist lands) the Socialist movement and the Labour movement in general have been exclusively guided by cliques drawn from the aristocracy of labour, persons most of whom are utterly and hopelessly corrupted by reformism, whose minds are enslaved by Imperialist and bourgeois prejudices. Without an uncompromising struggle against these elements, without the total destruction of their authority, without the implanting in the minds of the masses the conviction that these leaders are absolutely rotten with bourgeoisdom, there can be no question of a serious Communist movement among the working classes.

These remarks apply to France, America, and Germany, no less than to Britain.

The revolutionary workers who concentrate their attack on Parliamentarism are perfectly right in so far as thereby they give expression to their repudiation of bourgeois Parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy as a matter of principle. The Soviet power, the Soviet republic, that is what the working-class revolution substitutes for bourgeois democracy; the proletarian dictatorship is the transitional form between Capitalism and Socialism. Criticism of Parliamentary government is not merely justifiable and necessary as a driving force in the direction of the Soviet power; but such criticism is perfectly sound in so far as it displays an understanding of the relative and restricted historical character of Parliamentarism, an understanding of its ties with capitalism; in so far as it implies a knowledge of the fact that Parliamentarism, while progressive in relation to the institutions of the middle ages, is reactionary in relation to the Soviet power.

But the critics of Parliamentarism in Europe and America, when they belong to Anarchist and Anarchist-Syndicalist circles, are often mistaken when they reject all participation in elections and in action on the Parliamentary field. As I see the matter, they suffer here from a lack of revolutionary experience. In Russia, where since the twentieth century began we have had two great revolutions, we know how potent may be the influence of Parliamentarism; we know what influence it possesses during revolutionary epochs, and above all while the revolution is actually in progress. Bourgeois Parliaments ought to be swept away, to be replaced by Soviet institutions. This is indubitable. After the experiences we have had in Russia, in Hungary, and in Germany, it has become absolutely certain that such a change will take place during the proletarian revolution. For this reason we must systematically prepare the working masses, must enlighten them

beforehand concerning the working of the Soviet regime; for everyone who wishes to be a real revolutionist, this propaganda, this agitation on behalf of the Soviets, becomes an obvious duty. But we Russians fulfilled this duty in various ways, and among them by agitation in the Parliamentary arena. Our representatives did revolutionary and republican work in the wretched Tsarist Duma, which was almost entirely composed of members of the owning class. Within bourgeois Parliaments, it is possible and necessary to carry on a Sovietist propaganda.

It may well happen that in this country or in that such an end may be difficult to attain, but the objection is beside the point. We must do everything in our power to ensure that sound tactics shall be accepted by the revolutionary workers of all lands. If the working-class party be genuinely revolutionary, if it be genuinely working class (I mean, if it be closely associated with the mass of the workers, with the deeper strata of the proletariat and not simply with the upper layers), if it be genuinely a party, that is to say, an organisation of the revolutionary vanguard, strongly cohesive, and able to use all possible means on behalf of revolutionary work among the masses—if it be all these things, such a party will certainly be able to exercise due control over its Parliamentarians, to make of them real propagandists like Karl Liebknecht, instead of "leaders" of the proletariat, using bourgeois methods, living bourgeois lives, filled with bourgeois concepts, and plentifully manifesting a bourgeois lack of ideas.

If this result should prove unattainable in Britain by a single step, and if, in that country, difference upon the question of Parliamentarism and no other cause were to make it impossible to unite the advocates of the Soviet system, I should regard it as a valuable stage on the way towards complete unity to form two Communist parties, both advocating the replacement of bourgeois Parliamentarism by a Soviet Government. Seeing that the difference between them would be so slight, consisting merely in the willingness of the one and the refusal of the other to participate in action on the Parliamentary field, it would assuredly be more reasonable for them to unite. But the simultaneous existence of two Communist parties would be an immense advance upon existing conditions, and this duality would probably last only during a brief period of transition, pending complete unity and the prompt victory of Communism.

The Soviet Government in Russia, which has now had nearly two years' experience, has been able to show that the dictatorship of the proletariat was possible even in a mainly agricultural land. We have learned that the dictatorship of the proletariat can maintain itself in conditions of almost incredible difficulty, can maintain itself by the creation of a powerful army—the best possible proof of organisation and order.

But the Soviet Government has done greater things. It has already secured a moral triumph throughout the world; for the working masses (though the

merest fragments of truth concerning Soviet Russia filter through, and though thousands and millions of falsehoods have been disseminated) have everywhere declared in favour of the Soviet Republic. The proletarians of the world have realised that the Soviet government is the government of the workers, that it alone can free the world from capitalism, from the yoke of capital; that it alone can put an end to the Imperialist war and bring about lasting peace. That is why the Imperialists, though they can achieve victories over isolated Soviet Republics, will never be able to conquer the world-wide Sovietist movement of the proletariat.

Communist greetings,

V. LENIN.

P.S.—The following extract from our newspaper press will show you the sort of information we receive concerning what happens in England:—

"London, August 25th (via Bielo-ostrov).—The London correspondent of the Copenhagen newspaper, 'Berlingske Tidende,' sends the following telegram under date of August 3rd describing the Bolshevik movement in England:

'The strikes of the last few days, and recent revelations, have shaken the English belief that their country is refractory to Bolshevism. The newspapers are engaged in a lively discussion of the question. The authorities are doing their best to prevent the 'plot' dates from some time since, and that the aim of the conspirators was to overthrow the existing regime. The police have arrested the members of the revolutionary committee, which, so the newspapers declare, had both money and arms at its disposal. The 'Times' gives the substance of certain documents found in the houses of arrested persons. These documents show that there was a complete revolutionary programme. The bourgeoisie was to be disarmed; weapons and munitions were to be got together for the use of the councils of workers' and soldiers' deputies; a Red army was to be formed; all the functions of the State were to be taken over by the workers. A revolutionary tribunal was to be established for the trial of political criminals and persons guilty of harsh treatment of prisoners. The whole food supply of the country was to be seized. Parliament and the organs of local self-government were to be done away with and replaced by revolutionary Soviets. The working day was to be reduced to six hours, and the minimum weekly wage was to be £7. The National Debt was to be repudiated; the banks, the transport system, and all the means of production and distribution, were to be nationalised.'

If the above information is correct, I wish to express to the British capitalists and Imperialists, and to their organ the "Times" (the wealthiest newspaper in the world), my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for their admirable propaganda on behalf of Bolshevism.

Continue your efforts, gentlemen of the "Times." You will do much to speed the coming of Bolshevism in Britain.

N. L.

The Kremlin, Moscow,
August 30, 1919.

Resolution of the Communist Party of Bulgaria Concerning the Situation in Bulgaria.

The first congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria was held in Sofia on the 25th, 26th, and 27th of May, 1919. Vassili Kolaroff read a report upon the situation of Bulgaria in relation to home affairs and to foreign affairs. After the report had been fully discussed, the following resolution was adopted:

1. The congress shares the profound sorrow of the Bulgarian people in face of the deaths, mutilation, or imprisonment of hundred of thousands, as an outcome of the criminal policy and the bellicose nationalism of Bulgaria. It declares that the terrible and world-wide catastrophe has been the work of all the bourgeois parties which, for many years, headed by the ruling house, have been systematically poisoning the popular mind with nationalism and Jingo ideas, have been fostering militarism, have been sacrificing all the resources of the country to war, turning for support now to the Allied, and now to the Central Powers. The congress declares that this policy, entailing the ultimate degree of economic impoverishment and political slavery, has entailed the utter ruin of the people. The class justice of the bourgeois State offering no atonement for this ghastly massacre of the people or for the thousands of separate criminal acts committed against the laws of humanity and of civility during war upon our own soil and in foreign lands. The Communist Party of Bulgaria enters its most emphatic protest against the wholesale extermination of the Bulgarian people. It declares that nothing but a popular revolutionary tribunal established after the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie will be able to do justice upon all those who have been the executioners of the people, or will be able to requite the crimes of all the guilty (however highly placed these may be).

2. The party fearlessly declares that the monarchist ring is largely responsible for the ruin of the country. Representing an anti-popular and reactionary force, the instrument through which the bourgeoisie maintains its regime of exploitation and persecution, the monarchy, quite independently of the person of any particular monarch, has lost its prestige, and its foundation in the hearts of the people. It must yield place to the republic. Should it resist, it will be swept away by the rising tide of popular indignation.

The party further declares that the whole system of bourgeois Parliamentarism is likewise bankrupt. It has become plain to all the world that the democratic principles of Parliamentarism are a mere mask for the most outrageous dictatorship of a small minority of wealthy landed proprietors, capitalists, and financiers. The working masses deserve only peace. The seventeenth National Assembly was elected on a peace programme. Yet the will of the enormous majority of the people did not prevent the Parliamentarians in the respective camps (the Germanophil camp of the Government and the Russophil camp of the Opposition) from openly entering upon a policy of Jingo and bellicose incitement which were in the end to plunge the country into the most terrible of wars. While the men of the common people were pouring out their blood upon the battlefields, while their wives and children were suffering the direst privations, the Parliament elected by "universal and equal suffrage" and the Government based upon Parliament were encouraging and defending withoutless complacency those

who were battenning on the fruits of the people's labour. When the catastrophe supervened, when the people found itself on the edge of the abyss, the Parliament and the Government, aided by all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties, usurped the rights of the nation. Thanks to the state of siege and to the censorship they were able to continue their work of "regenerating" the country—that is to say, their work of defending the monarchy and the bourgeoisie from popular vengeance. The maintenance of a system of Parliamentary government renders it possible for the enriched bourgeoisie to persist in its cynical disregard of the popular will and to keep the mass of the workers under the yoke.

3. For these reasons the Communist Party of Bulgaria boldly asserts that the popular will, that of the urban and rural workers, can be expressed and realised in no other way than through Soviets of workers', soldiers', and peasants' delegates, elected by the workers, the soldiers, and the poorer peasants, no delegates being continuously subject to recall. The extant bourgeois and monarchist Parliamentary government must be replaced by a Sovietist republican government, in order that an end may be put once for all to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and in order that the development of society and of the State may take place in accordance with the will of the working people.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie, Russophiles and Germanophiles alike, assures the people that it pursues two great "national" aims. These aims are, the unification of the Bulgarian people, and the independence of the Bulgarian State. The bourgeoisie held that they could not be achieved except through the war, and to war therefore all the moral and material forces of the people have been subordinated. What has been the result? Instead of independence, the people has secured nothing but political and economic slavery. The bourgeoisie finds that it must trust to the good sense, the generosity, and the humanity of the victorious imperialists, should it still hope for the realisation of the national ideals.

4. The Communist Party of Bulgaria declares that the bourgeoisie, greedy for plunder and conquest, is incapable of bringing about the unity and independence of the people; the party declares that the anti-popular and bellicose bourgeois policy of opportunism and sycophancy can lead only to the complete ruin of the nation. The party affirms that the right of the Bulgarian people, a right shared by every subjugated and dependent people, to determine its own destinies freely, can be achieved solely by the victory of the toiling masses over the bourgeoisie and over imperialism. It declares that the Balkan peoples will only be able to effect a national union based upon genuine independence, within the framework of a Balkan Federative Socialist Soviet Republic, which will be joined by the Soviet Republics of Macedonia, Dobrudja, etc.

The congress declares that the bourgeoisie is no longer capable of guiding the economic life of the country. Its wars and its policy of rapine have burdened the State and the national finances with crushing debts; have led to the rapid concentration of wealth in the hands of banks, joint-stock companies, and individual capitalists; and have entailed the impoverishment and the proletarianisation of the poorer population in town and country. The development of commerce and industry has been arrested; chaos has ensued in the

field of production; the transport system has been destroyed; the food supply has been utterly disorganised; the immense majority of the population has lost all sense of future security. Capitalism is totally bankrupt. It must be replaced by a new economic system, and the only possible system is Communism.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria declares that Socialism can be realised in no other way than by the dictatorship of the workers and the poor. It is by this dictatorship that the workers will put an end to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, will cancel the war debts, will seize capital and the great landed estates in their strong grasp, and will place at the disposal of the workers' society all the means of production and transport.

5. Further, the bourgeoisie has shown itself no less incapable of ensuring the food supply of the poorer population. Jealous to defend capitalist interests, it began by resisting State interference in the domain of food supply. But when speculation and plunder had reached proportions hitherto unknown, and when "the tranquillity of the country and the army" had been threatened by the increasing prevalence of famine, the bourgeoisie had to consent to State control in this department. Capital has however known how to avail itself of the new instrument, has known how to make of it a means for plundering the hunger-stricken masses. The policy of "control of economic affairs" championed by all the governmental parties whether "Right" or "Left," has proved an utter failure. Throughout the country to-day the poorer classes are suffering from hunger and privation.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria declares that an adequate food supply for the poorer classes cannot be ensured while political power remains in the hands of the capitalist classes. Freedom of private trade entails poverty and hunger for the immense majority of the population.

Not until the working masses of town and country seize power from the bourgeoisie, not until they take the government into their own hands and rule through the instrumentality of Soviets, will they be able to take possession of all the food stocks and the other prime necessities of life, and to organise equitable distribution.

6. The bourgeois parties which continue to control the power of the State, aware of the rapidity with which the ground is being mined beneath their feet, are making an intense effort to safeguard their position. Hoping to lessen the pressure exercised by the masses, they are sharing responsibility with the parties known as the "parties of the Left," "the Agrarians," "the Socialists," and the Radicals, which hitherto had no share in the government, and which have undertaken to help the bourgeois chariot out of the rut into which its wheels have sunk.

But this manoeuvre will not save them. The Liberal parties, which in 1914, in order to maintain themselves at the helm, outraged and deceived the people, are largely responsible for the disasters which have befallen Bulgaria. As soon as they had plunged the country into war, they lost their heads completely. After the military successes of the opening phase, they were carried away by their passion for conquest and plunder, and they threw the portals wide to frenzied speculation. In return for facile promises of huge territorial acquisitions, they delivered over the wealth and the strength of the nation to the absolute discretion of their allies, and eagerly devoted themselves to plundering the occupied territories and to wreaking their will on these. By a militarist terror and a draconian censorship, by a spy system and by executions, they retained their power over the hungry and exasperated army and people. After the defeat, they voluntarily effaced themselves in the hope of escaping the wrath of the

masses, but gave unreserved support to the new government, devoted to the Entente. These certified patriots who, hand on heart, swore that they would accept the whole responsibility for their actions, will not be able to elude this responsibility. They need not fear "the strict military justice" with which they threatened the parties of the "Left" now in power; but the day is speedily coming when they will have to face the revolutionary tribunal of the nation. The opportunist bourgeois parties are equally responsible for the crushing of Bulgaria. Without ever having been called to account for their misdeeds during 1912 and 1913, when they criminally led the country into wars which culminated in ruin, defeat, and dismemberment—as soon as the great European war broke out they hastened to advocate Bulgaria's participation in the struggle. When the Liberal Government entered into an alliance with the Central Powers, the bourgeois opportunists, though they had been pronounced Russophiles, ignominiously stripped to fight on the new side. Furling the old flag, they enthusiastically rallied to the Government, voting the war credits, and all the other special war legislation. They continued this support throughout the hostilities, encouraging the Government in its insatiable greed for territory, receiving in exchange a chance of sharing in all the possibilities of profiteering offered by the prolongation of the war. After the fall of Radoslavoff, the erstwhile Russophil coalition continued his policy, and turned a deaf ear to the clamours of the people for immediate peace. This coalition with the aid of German troops was able to effect the bloody suppression of the mutiny of Radomir's soldiers. Desiring to save the monarchy and the bourgeoisie, it would consent only to the sacrifice Tsar Ferdinand, who was manifestly the object of general detestation.

The responsibility of the "Left" parties is not less grave. The Agrarians and the Radicals voted all Radoslavoff's military credits, and openly supported his nationalist and Imperialist policy. The "broad Socialists" abstained, not during the vote the credits; but they did not hesitate to undertake a European tour as Radoslavoff's agents, to carry on propaganda in favour of victorious Bulgarian Nationalism. Throughout the war they were the devoted servants of the Government, and were commended for their devotion to the bourgeoisie. The parties of the "Left," and, above all, the Agrarians, did not miss any opportunities of collecting their share of the income which "fell from heaven" during the continuance of hostilities.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria declares that the "Left" coalition cabinets, the former one no less than the present one, have been nothing but attempts of the bankrupt bourgeoisie and monarchy to maintain their rule over the tolling masses. It declares that these "Left" parties, the Agrarian, the Radical, and the "broad Socialists," are merely the agents of the bourgeoisie and the monarchy. They are traitors to the cause of the people, however stridently they may protest their fidelity to that cause. In especial the "broad Socialists," who in return for two Ministerial posts have sold their Socialism and the interest of the workers to the court and the bourgeoisie, are openly playing the part of tools of the counter-revolution. The Communist Party of Bulgaria denounces them in the face of all the workers, and urges the masses not to allow themselves to be duped by the rhetoric of Governmental declarations, but to close ranks against all the ruling parties, be they "Right" or be they "Left." For all alike are the humble servants and the bodyguards of the monarchy and the capitalist order.

7. The coalition Government, chiefly composed of the representatives of the "Left" parties, has proved incompetent to bring any alleviation to the position of the masses or to solve the great problems that press for

solution. It has stated that the most urgent need for the country is the issue of an appeal for "order and tranquillity." It has continued to move along the beaten track of falsehood and violence. Notwithstanding the solemn promises of the parties of the "Left," it rules by means of a state of siege, the censorship, and the spy system. It has been unable to ensure tolerable conditions for State employees, and now, by arbitrary dismissals, it is throwing many of them into the street. Various layers of the working class seek from the Government the defence of its rights and the satisfaction of its demands. The workers continue to suffer from the arbitrary conduct of their employers; unemployment and poverty decimate their ranks. The proletarianisation of the poorer classes, who are overwhelmed with privation, makes rapid strides. New and heavy taxation has been imposed upon the workers and the poor. While the parties of the "Left" endeavour to placate them by promising to confiscate war profits and illegally gained wealth, the Government of the "Left," increasing the discontent of the masses by all its doings, rages with unbridled fury against the Bolshevik peril and those who foment it, the "narrow" Socialists. It has waged a campaign of calumny against Bolshevism, successfully accusing the "narrow" Socialists of being the cause of the postponement of the liberation of war workers, and also of being responsible for the occupation of Bulgaria. The Government systematically employs forcible methods to check the activities of the "narrow" Socialists among the masses. It has repeatedly mobilised large bodies of troops against trade union branch meetings and public meetings for the workers; it has arrested active Socialists; and it has closed party clubs. At Pernik it sent an armed force against the miners' lodge, seized the archives of the union, arrested and imprisoned several hundred of the more advanced spirits, and endeavoured to enforce the death penalty against the leaders.

It hands are staining with the blood of the proletariat of Slivia, for it is fiercely attacking the Transport Workers' Union and the Tobacco Workers' Union. With feverish activity it is consolidating all the forces of the counter-revolution for the struggle against Bolshevism; it is organising military leagues, stirring up the army and preparing the troops for a sanguinary collision with the masses, among whom the leaven of discontent is vigorously at work. Never did the bourgeoisie and the monarchy find more faithful bodyguards than the members of the Government of the "Left."

The Communist Party of Bulgaria protests most energetically against the policy of the Government of the "Left," a policy based upon fraud and violence. It assures the revolutionary proletariat that the parties of the Left are the enemies of the counter-revolution in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian workers and peasants will not be able to take any power until they have overthrown, not the bourgeoisie alone, but in addition these parties of the reaction.

8. The "narrow" Socialists, outspoken enemies of war and of the bellicose imperialist policy, vigorously opposed the Balkan war and warned the masses what would be the outcome of these wars. Their activity against war was redoubled when the Russophiles and the Germanophiles began their respective endeavours to involve Bulgaria in the world war. Answering the mobilisation order by a fighting appeal to the working class, they have since 1914 and to the last stuck boldly to their posts. They have vigorously opposed the military credits, and in the utmost of their ability they resisted the Governmental policy of conquest and violence.

By the spoken and the written word, notwithstanding the state of siege and the censorship, the "narrow" Socialists have never ceased to expose, before

the people and the army, the greed for conquest and plunder displayed by the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. They have striven for an immediate peace without annexations or indemnities. Their uncompromising stand and their revolutionary activity aroused the hatred of the wealthier sections of the bourgeoisie, and made them the objects of unceasing persecution.

Innumerable prosecutions of Parliamentary deputies and other Socialists, alike in the interior of the country and at the front, domiciliary searches, arrests, savage sentences, and executions, bear witness to the powerful influence exercised by the "narrow" Socialists among the people and in the army, and to the terror which this influence aroused in the bourgeois mind.

The workers and the soldiers, on the contrary, enthusiastically welcomed revolutionary teaching. In the most self-denying way they gave all possible support to the "Workers' Herald," and courageously took part in the struggle for peace. The Bulgarian Communist Party declares that in these days of extreme trial it has defended the interests of the toilers, has firmly upheld the flag of revolutionary Socialism, awakening and organising the masses for the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors of the people, and that it will continue to march forward along the arduous road of the social revolution with yet more fortitude, decision, and energy. It will shrink from no sacrifices, however great.

9. Faithful to the cause of Socialism and the international solidarity of the workers, the "narrow" Socialists have affirmed their community of thought and action with all the peoples ruined by the Imperialism of the Central Powers (Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania); they have passed sentence upon patriotic Socialism and the Second International for treason to Socialism. They took part in the Zimmerwald conference and in all the attempts to found a new international. Realising that the approach of a world-wide revolution would facilitate this task, they hailed with enthusiasm the debut of that revolution in Russia. They expect, as they have expected, peace and liberty for the enslaved peoples, not from the victory of the Imperialists of one or other of the two contending groups, not from a league of nations built upon the hypocrisies and mendacities of the capitalist world, but from the triumph of the proletarian revolution over world Imperialism. They have loudly declared their solidarity with the revolutionary masses of the Russian workers, peasants, and soldiers, and with the great work accomplished by these, the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. With joy they acclaimed the revolution in Germany and in Austria, making no secret of their admiration for the glorious victory of the Hungarian and Bavarian Communists and for the heroic efforts of the German Spartacists. They greeted the foundation at Moscow of the Third International with a profound faith in the speedy victory of the revolution throughout the capitalist world.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria sends fraternal greetings to the fighting revolutionary proletariat in all lands. Adopting the principles and tactics of Communism, it announces its unreserved adhesion to the Communist International. It declares that it will fight to the last against any attempt on the part of the Bulgarian Government to give assistance of whatever kind to the counter-revolutionary forces now attacking the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia and Hungary, and now endeavouring to counteract the revolutionary movements in other countries near or distant. It reaffirms its complete solidarity with the revolutionary Socialist and Communist parties in the Balkans, and declares that the freeing of the Balkan peoples from the yoke of nationalism and from economic and political slavery depends upon the formation of a Balkan Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. Finally, acclaim-

ing the Socialist revolution in Eastern and Central Europe, and giving utterance to its inextinguishable faith in the speedy extension of that revolution to the

other parts of the capitalist world, the Communist Party of Bulgaria declares that it will to its revolutionary duty to the end.

Telegram from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland.

TO COMRADES LENIN, ZINOVIEV, AND TROTSKI

The congress of the Communist Party of Finland begs you to transmit to the fighting proletariat of Russia and of the world at large its warmest greetings in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of Finland.

Dear Comrades! The congress is profoundly impressed by the force with which you have given expression to the liberationist hopes of the world proletariat, by the light you have thrown upon the road to be followed by the revolutionary struggle and upon the final aim of that struggle, by the skill and by the indefatigable energy with which you lead the proletariat in its contest with world-wide capital and international imperialism.

For these reasons, the congress feels impelled to declare to you, as leaders of the international proletarian revolution, in the name of the revolutionists, the workers, and the proletarian soldiers of Finland: that the fundamental principles of Communism and the realisation of the inevitability of the proletarian struggle are already firing the masses of the martyred proletariat of Finland; that the opening of a new struggle cannot be long deferred; that the young Communist Party of Finland will not fall, within the limits of its power, to fulfil the task that lies before it.

Comrades, at every hour, your deeds proclaim: Long live the universal revolution! Long live the victory of the proletariat!

Accept, Comrades, the acclamations of our congress. Long live the leaders of the Universal Revolution, the leaders of the Communist International and of the international Red Army; Long live Comrades Lenin, Zinoviev, and Trotski!

THE CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND.

Petrograd, September 10, 1919.

An Appeal to the Revolutionary Proletariat of Europe.

As delegates of the third congress of the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America, and speaking in the name of the Ukrainian workers, we tender the homage that is due to the fighters who have fallen in the struggle on behalf of a better life for the workers of the world.

We greet the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic; we greet the peasant, Socialist, and Communist Government of Ukraine; we greet the German Spartacists; we greet all the comrades who are working to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat!

All hail to the social revolution! Long live the Third International, the Communist International of the revolutionary workers!

We are wholeheartedly with you.

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE UKRAINIAN FEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

New York.

The Norwegian Labour Party joins the Communist International.

To the Third International, Moscow.

At the congress held on June 8th, the Norwegian Labour Party resolved to leave the Second International, and to join the Third, the Communist International. The congress has already sent Comrade Lenin a telegram to acquaint him with this decision.

On January 1, 1919, the membership of the party was 94,000. It is now nearly 100,000.

Please address all communications to: Det Norske Arbeiderparti.—Folkets Hus, Kristiania. Fraternal greetings.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Norwegian Labour Party.

MARTIN TRAUMER, Secretary.
KYRRE GREPP, President.

Christiania, July 18, 1919.

Resolution passed by the Left Wing of the Swedish Social Democratic Party.

At the conference of the Left wing of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, held from June 16 to 18, 1919, the following resolution was adopted:

The left wing of the Swedish Social Democratic Party regards the universal Socialist revolution as the only way by which the working class and humanity at large can find an issue from the terrible situation resulting from the world war, created by capitalism. Consequently, the Left wing of the Social Democratic Party is a revolutionary party, in respect alike of methods and of final aim. It considers that the direct and non-Parliamentary action of the working masses will lead them to the conquest of political power, whereby they will be enabled to realise Socialism. It warns the working class against bourgeois-democratic and reformist illusions. Bourgeois Democracy has been everywhere proved to represent merely the masked rule of capital and the bourgeoisie. The political equality of bourgeois democracy is purely formal, unassociated with any economic rights or genuine social rights. Bourgeois democracy is incompetent to bring about the final overthrow of the capitalist regime; the party, therefore, considers the dictatorship of the proletariat, the complete economic and political supremacy of the working class, to be indispensable as a step on the way to Socialism, through which alone can true democracy be realised. But this dictatorship cannot become established and cannot function in the interests of the working classes (and thus of humanity at large) unless it be deliberately supported by the great majority of the proletariat. The main task of the party is to rally the Swedish proletariat to the support of this programme.

If the Left wing of the party nevertheless continue to participate in Parliamentary work, there are two reasons for this course. In the first place, the Left wing aims at defending in Parliament the interests of the working class; and it aims at making the most, in accordance with the general outlook of the Social Democracy, of the possibilities for revolutionary propaganda afforded by electoral campaigns and by the representative machinery of local government. In the second place, its actions are guided by the fact that Sweden has not yet entered the revolutionary period, which will spontaneously create the organs of proletarian democracy.

The conference wishes to emphasise its view that Parliamentary work must be entirely subordinated to the methods of attack rendered necessary by the revolutionary epoch, and that it must be subordinated, above all, to the mass revolution upon which the party must concentrate its energy.

The victory of the revolutionary masses will bring about the genuine democracy of the Soviets. Under this regime, the proletarian revolution will everywhere create its fighting organisations, and will establish the new instruments of public power fitted to achieve the transition from the capitalist order to the Socialist order.

Thus Socialist administration must be based upon Soviet institutions, must be carried on by proletarian Soviets, by councils of peasants and workers. Through these bodies, power will be placed in the hands of the working people, for the essential rights of the citizens will depend upon participation in productive labour.

The germ of the workers' Soviets is represented by the Soviets of producers which aim, not at securing a share in profits, but at the suppression of exploitation in all its forms, at the control and the administration of the whole work of production.

Will the transition from capitalism to Socialism be achieved without the use of force? This will depend upon our opponents. Excesses are characteristic of bourgeois society, which is essentially based on organised violence, terror, capitalist exploitation, militarism, police power, and coercion. Experience shows that the bourgeois class has recourse to extreme measures (the wholesale butchery of the workers, and the assassination of their leaders) for the defence of its privileges and its class supremacy. The working class, therefore, must be ready to answer force by force.

At the same time, the party strongly condemns useless violence, isolated attempts at a coup d'état, and individual acts of terrorism. The party aims, not to strike down individuals, but to make reprisals on isolated persons, but to suppress the capitalist system, and to abolish the gangrened institutions of capitalism.

If the revolution and Socialism are to be realised with the minimum of sacrifice, it will be indispensable to disarm the bourgeoisie and to deprive it of its principal and most dangerous support, military force.

In complete conformity with this opinion, the party reaffirms its earlier programme of disarmament and the refusal to concede to the Government any means for the reinforcement of its military strength.

The party declares its readiness to use all possible means on behalf of the disarming of soldiers' Soviets. It is indispensable, therefore, that there should be undertaken extensive and consistent Socialist propaganda in the army, with a view of arousing the sympathy of the soldiers on behalf of the realisation of Socialism, with the aim of undermining the use of the army against the working class, and with the aim of preparing the way for the definite suppression of militarism.

The conference will not authorise collaboration with other parties unless they adopt the platform of the revolutionary class struggle and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Affirming its complete solidarity with the proletariat wherever engaged in a revolutionary struggle, the conference joyfully hails the foundation of the Third International and hereby resolves to join it.

Draft Resolutions of the Swiss Organisations meeting in breaking with the Second International and joining the Communist International.

Resolution proposed by the secretariat and the party executive:

"The Swiss Social Democratic Party announces its formal resignation from the Second International."

Resolution proposed by the Socialist Party of the town of Winterthur:

"The question of joining the Third International must be decided by the Swiss Social Democratic Party after the revision of the party programme. Consequently, it should not be discussed at the meeting of August 16th and 17th."

Resolution proposed by the Socialist Party of the Canton of Thurgovia:

"The question of joining the Third International, that is to say the party trend represented by Lenin, remains open until we in Switzerland shall have come to a definite decision on the point of principle and until the party programme shall have been revised. The committee for the revision of the programme is instructed, when it shall have given due consideration to the programme of the Third International, to draft such a programme for Switzerland as it may consider expedient for the immediate future. It will expound this programme at the next party conference, and will in case of need, summon a special conference for the purpose."

Resolution proposed by the Socialist Party of the town of Olten:

"The Swiss Social Democratic Party has the same aim as the Third International and hereby expresses its solidarity with the Third International. But it reserves the right to come to an autonomous decision upon the best fighting tactics for the realisation of this aim in Switzerland, taking into account the political and economic conditions peculiar to that country."

Resolution proposed by the executive committee and six branches:

"The Swiss Socialist Party joins the Third International and adopts its platform."

Resolution proposed by Reinhart:

"Our local committee urges the extraordinary meeting of the party to instruct the secretary to enter into negotiations with all the revolutionary parties in the hope of securing complete unanimity among the international proletariat upon the platform of the Third International."

Resolution proposed by the Socialist Group "Le Senter":

"The Swiss Social Democratic Party refuses to join the Third International."

RESOLUTIONS

By the Socialist Party of the Canton of Thurgovia:

(1) "The so-called Third International, the movement personified by Lenin and Russian Bolshevism, is not in conformity, whether ideologically or tactically, with the laws of historic verity. It must be looked upon as a chance experiment and a Utopia introducing confusion and disorder. We therefore refuse to recognise this movement."

(2) "But in view of the partial justice of this movement, it is essential that we should endeavour to rally the proletariat internationally upon the field of a vigorous revolutionary programme. While completely denouncing militarism and insurrectionist tactics, we are prepared in case of need to have recourse to obstructive measures."

five methods and to strikes. Our attitude towards extant society is one which displays a sober, serious, and indomitable will. We aim at the complete reform of the contemporary social organism in a spirit of justice and fraternity."

By the united districts of Untergrund and Lucerne: "The meeting held on May 31, 1919, of the Social Democratic Union of the districts of Untergrund and Lucerne considers the adhesion of the working class of the whole world to the Third International to be the only means whereby the working class and mankind can be freed from the ills brought upon the peoples by the universal war which is the fruit of capitalism."

"For this reason the meeting urges the congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party to join the Third International. It demands that the congress should give a frank and unequivocal demonstration of its agreement with the principles and platform of the Third International, after having formulated this outlook with the maximum of clarity, frankness, and decision, and after the complete revision of the party programme."

The Adhesion of the Swiss Socialist Party to the Third International.

The congress of the Swiss Social Democratic Party passed the resolution to join the Third International that had been drafted by the executive committee. After a lengthy discussion, the policy of the Third International was accepted in all essentials. The resolution was carried by a vote of 313 against 147. Subsequently, by a unanimous vote, the party resolved to withdraw from the Second International.

The Finnish Workers and the Communist International.

Resolution passed at the Party Congress.

The congress of the Communist Party of Finland hails the foundation of the Third International and hereby resolves to join it.

The Communist Party of Finland urges all among the Finnish workers faithful to the work of the revolution to break forthwith with the Finnish Social Democratic Party, protected by the White Terror and accomplice of its crimes. Withdrawing from the Second International, which is a prop of the black hands of the reaction, the workers should join the Third International, the international of the revolutionary struggle.

The Finnish proletariat has realised the importance of international solidarity, thanks to the ever-memorable support the Finnish workers received from their Russian comrades in the struggle against the hordes of exploiters and the armies of German Imperialism—which were in fact supported by the leaders of the Second International, by the Scheidemanns and the Brantings, who thus became the murderers of the Finnish proletariat.

The party congress addresses itself to all the parties of the Communist International and to the working class throughout the world, summoning them to do their duty towards the comrades who are engaged in the revolutionary struggle, by aiding these to defeat the conspiracy of world-wide imperialism against Sovietist and Communist Russia.

The congress expresses its firm conviction that the Finnish revolutionary proletariat will, on its side, be able to prevent the reactionaries of the world from involving Finland in an Imperialist campaign. They rest assured that the Finnish proletariat, shaking off the yoke of the exploiters, will be able to rally Finland for the support of Soviet Russia, and for the ultimate union of Finland and Russia with all the proletarian republics which are shortly to be created throughout the world.

Resolution passed by the Third Congress of the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America.

Seeing that Ukraine is at this hour, like the other countries of Europe, the arena of an obstinate struggle, which should prove to be a decisive struggle, for a better future, for Socialism, a struggle in which the working class is grappling with the bourgeois class, its implacable enemy; seeing that the working class, in this epic combat, is devoting all its power and all its resources to the defence of the stronghold of the proletariat; seeing that the Ukrainian capitalists, supported by the lackeys of the reaction (including the patriotic Socialists, the assassins of the Ukrainian workers and peasants), after having shed rivers of blood, after having slaughtered and mutilated by tens of thousands the valiant champions of the participation of the workers, are about to lay sacrilegious hands upon glorious Freedom, to strangle her, and to throw the country back into the arms of reaction and despotism:

In view of all these things, we, Ukrainians workers in America, fully conscious of our class interests, closely united for the struggle against the enemy in an organisation strong in its spirit of solidarity, now in session at New York as the third congress of the Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America, unanimously declare:

1. That we have denounced in the past, and denounce now, and shall continue to denounce in the future, all groups and all parties which defend the reaction and corrupt social order;

2. That we address our most fervent greetings to the revolutionary workers and peasants of Ukraine and of the wide world, whose heroic struggle for the cause, the common cause, the beloved cause, of the proletariat is worthy of the most unstinted admiration;

3. That we unreservedly adhere to the Ukrainian (and international) Communist-Bolshevik Party. We shall continue to support it as the sole representative of revolutionary aspirations, as the only party competent to free the workers of all lands and all races from the heavy yoke of capitalism, as the party which, upon the ruins of existing society, will be able to upbuild the new order, the resplendent and just order of Communism.

We are proud of the direct part our brothers have taken in the great struggle of the social revolution. We hold ourselves ready to fight in person as soon as we shall have overcome the obstacles put in our way by our powerful enemies.

All hail to the universal revolution!

The Communist Party of Poland joins the Third International.

The central committee of the Communist Labour Party of Poland fervently greets the Third International whose function it is to form an alliance between the various contingents of the international army of Socialism. Accepting its programme in every detail, the Communist Party of Poland resolves to join the Third International.

Resolution passed at the Socialist Congress of Alsace-Lorraine.

Nauen, September 15, 1919.
(By Wire.)

The congress of the Socialist Party of Lorraine protested against the expulsion of German workers decreed by the French Government, and declared that this policy would inevitably lead to economic disaster. The congress further protested against the systematic persecution of the Labour movement and against the declaration of a state of siege in Upper Alsace and

in Lorraine. The Congress strongly advocates the nationalisation of the mines and the railways of Alsace-Lorraine.

By a large majority the congress decided to join the Third International.

Resolution passed by the Communist Muslims of Turkestan.

Telegram from Turkestan to Comrade Zinoviev.

The revolutionary process passing from isolated acts to a vigorous struggle against world imperialism. The revolutionary movement in China, the armed insurrection of the Chinese Communists, bears witness to this in the Far East. The significance is the union, growing daily more intimate, of the oppressed nationalists of Afghanistan, India, Persia, and other countries in the East to the Communist ideal. In its contest with world imperialism, is rapidly making its way through all the lands of the East, where the revolutionary movements begin to adopt the principles of the Communist International. On September 12th began the second extraordinary conference of the Muslim Communist of Turkestan, summoned to celebrate the reopening of communications between central Russia and Soviet Turkestan. We send our most

fervent greetings to you who began the universal social revolution. The Mussulman toilers of Turkestan close ranks round the Communist banner. Soviet Turkestan, joining the Communist Party and entering the Red Army, becomes a revolutionary school for the whole East. The revolutionists of adjoining countries come to us in crowds and become convinced adherents of the Communist parties, with whose aid we are making extensive propaganda throughout the East. We now fully realise the justice of Soviet Russia's policy towards Turkestan, the policy decided upon at the seventh congress of Soviets, completed and confirmed at the third congress of the Communist Party. Distrust is no longer exhibited towards the Mussulman proletariat, which now sends numerous delegates to the Soviets. Perfect tranquillity prevails among the Soviets of Turkestan. Now that Turkestan is reunited to central Russia, it is our hope that central Russia will send to Turkestan in sufficient numbers the guides and initiators we need.

All hail to the social revolution!

Long live Soviet rule throughout the world!

Long live the Communist International!

The Conference Committee,

Ryskulov, Tursunholdyayev, Shamansurov,
Fendyev, Aiyev, Yussupov.

Proceedings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Parliamentarism and the Struggle for the Soviets.

Circular letter from the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Dear Comrades,

Among the problems that press for solution in the actual tactic of the revolutionary movement, the question of parliamentarism is the most pressing of all. In Russia, in America, in England, and in Germany, as the class struggle becomes more acute, all the revolutionary elements, uniting or co-ordinating their action under the watchword of all power to the Soviets, give in their adhesion to the Communist movement. The Anarchising Syndicalist groups, and even some of the groups which proclaim themselves simply Anarchist, join the general stream. The executive committee of the Communist International notes the fact with delight.

In France, Comrade Lorient's Syndicalist group forms the nucleus of the Communist Party. In America, and to some extent in England, the struggle for the Soviets is conducted by such organisations as the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World). These groups and trends have always been actively hostile to Parliamentary methods. On the other hand, the elements of the Communist Party sprung from Socialist parties of the past, for the most part, to

accept Parliamentary action as a supplementary method (Lorient's group in France, members of the Socialist Party of America, members of the I.L.P. in England). All these trends, which should at any cost and at the earliest possible date be united within the framework of the Communist Party, need a unified tactic. The question must therefore be settled on general principles, and the executive committee of the Communist International addresses the present letter to all the fraternal parties, a letter specially devoted to this problem.

The common platform on which we have to unite is the recognition of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat under the form of the Soviet power. History has formulated the question in such a manner that it is upon this very subject that the dividing line has been drawn between the party of the revolutionary proletariat and the opportunists, between the Communists and the traitors to Socialism, however these may be labelled. What is termed the Centre (Kautsky in Germany, Longuet in France, the I.L.P. and certain members of the B.S.P. in England, Hillquit in America) constitutes, despite all assurances to the contrary, an objectively anti-Socialist

trend, for the Socialists of the Centre will not and cannot fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, the groups and the parties which, in the past, would not admit the propriety of any political struggle (for instance, certain Anarchist groups), in so far as they now recognise the Soviet regime, in so far as they now recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat, have by the same token renounced their non-political character, inasmuch as they accept the idea that the seizure of power by the working class is essential to overcome the resistance of the bourgeoisie. We have thus, let us repeat, a common platform—that of the struggle for the dictatorship of the Soviets.

The old subdivisions in the working-class movement are out of date. The war has led to a regrouping. Many Anarchists and Syndicalists whose creed was the negation of Parliamentarism, behaved, during the five years the war lasted, in as vile and treacherous a fashion as the former leaders of the official social democracy; those who swore only by the name of Marx. Forces have been regrouped on either side of a new line of demarcation. Either you are for the proletarian revolution, for the Soviets, for the dictatorship, for mass action, up to and including armed insurrection—or you are against. Such is the fundamental question to-day. These are the essential criteria. These are the insignia under which the new syntheses will form and are forming.

What is the relationship between Parliamentarism and the recognition of the Soviet principle? We must carefully distinguish two questions between which there is no logical connection: the question of Parliamentarism considered as a desirable form of State organisation; and the question of the utilisation of Parliamentarism in order to help the advent of revolution. Comrades often confuse these two questions, and the effect of the confusion is most unfortunate as far as concerns the needs of the practical struggle. Let us examine each question separately, and draw the necessary conclusions. What is the form of the proletarian dictatorship? We answer: the Soviets. An experiment has proved this, an experiment of world-wide significance. Is the Soviet regime compatible with Parliamentarism? No, three times no. It is absolutely incompatible with the existence of Parliaments, for the reason that the Parliamentary machine represents the concentrated power of the bourgeoisie. Members of Parliament, houses of Parliament, their newspapers, their system of corruption, the underground ties between the Parliamentarians and the great banking combines, their relations with all the apparatus of the bourgeois State, are so many gyves round the ankles of the working class. The gyves must be broken. The governmental machine of the bourgeoisie must be broken. Consequently the bourgeois Parliament must be broken, scattered, annihilated. Upon its ruins we must organise a new regime, that of the working-class unions, that of Labour "Parliaments," that is to say, of Soviets. None but

traitors to the working class will endeavour to dupe the workers by leading them to hope for a social transformation by peaceful means, by Parliamentary reforms. Such as they are the worst enemies of the working class, and we must fight them without ruth. No compromise is possible. For every bourgeois land, therefore, our slogan is: DOWN WITH PARLIAMENT! LONG LIVE THE SOVIET REGIME!

But the following question arises. Solve it. You refuse to accept the power of extant bourgeois Parliaments. But why should we not organise new Parliaments, more democratic Parliaments, based upon a genuinely universal suffrage? Let us answer: During the Socialist revolution, the struggle is so fierce that the working class must act promptly, decisively, without admitting to its bosom, without accepting into the instrument of its organised power, the enemies of its class. Now the only instruments of government which will satisfy these requisites are Soviets of workers, soldiers, sailors, and peasants, elected in the factories, the workshops, the farms, and the barracks. This is the way we have to formulate the problem of proletarian power. The first step is to OVERTHROW the bourgeois government of Kings, Presidents, Parliaments, Houses of Lords, Constituent Assemblies. All such institutions are our sworn enemies, and we must utterly destroy them.

Let us now pass to the second fundamental question: CAN WE MAKE USE OF BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENTS for the furtherance of the revolutionary class struggle? As previously explained, this second question has no logical connection with the first. It may well be possible to destroy an organisation by entering it, by "making use of it." Our class enemies are well aware of this when they exploit for their own purposes the official Socialist parties, the trade unions, etc. Let us take an example. The Russian Bolshevik Communists participated in the elections of the Constituent Assembly. They took their seats in it, but they did so in order to dissolve it in twenty-four hours, and in order to re-use their principle of all power to the Soviets. When the Tsar was still on the throne, the Bolshevik Party was represented in the Duma. Did the party thereby recognise the Duma as an ideal form, or even as a permissible form, of State organisation? Would be absurd to suppose anything of the kind. The Bolsheviks sent representatives to the Duma as one way of attacking the governmental apparatus of Tsarism, and in order to help in the destruction of the Duma. The Tsarist Government had good reason when it sentenced the Bolshevik "Parliamentarians" to penal servitude for "high treason." The Bolshevik deputies took advantage, were it even for a moment, of their Parliamentary "immunities" turning this to account for unconstitutional action, helping to organise the masses for the attack on Tsarism. But "Parliamentary action" of this type has been seen in other countries besides Russia. Look at Germany and at the work of Liebknecht. Our late comrade was a model revolutionist. Did

he not perform an equally revolutionary act when from the rostrum of the Prussian Landtag he appealed to the soldiers to revolt against this same Landtag? Undoubtedly it was a revolutionary act, and this shows us how right and profitable such an attitude may be. If Liebknecht had not been a deputy, he could not have done what he did; a similar speech made elsewhere could not have had the same influence. The Parliamentary work of the Swedish Communists is another striking instance. In Sweden, Comrade Höglund has played and continues to play the same role as Liebknecht in Germany. As deputy, he works for the destruction of the bourgeois Parliamentary system. No one in Sweden has done so much as our friend Höglund for the cause of the revolution and the struggle against the war. Similarly in Bulgaria the Bulgarian Communists have made successful use of the Parliamentary tribune for revolutionary ends. At the last general election they secured forty-seven seats. Comrades Blagoev, Kirkov, Kolarov, and other leaders of the Bulgarian Communist movement, know how to make the Parliamentary tribune useful to the cause of the proletarian revolution. "Parliamentary" work of this kind demands boldness and a revolutionary temperament of a rare order. These men occupy a post of peculiar danger. They are mining the enemy's position from within the enemy's camp. They have entered Parliament, not that they may take the machine into their own hands, but that they may help the masses to take it up from without.

Do we, then, favour the preservation of bourgeois democratic Parliaments as a form of government?

Nothing of the kind. We are for the Soviets.

Do we advocate the turning of Parliaments to account for our Communist work, in so far as we are not yet in a position to overthrow them?

Yes, on certain conditions.

We are well aware that there are no revolutionary Parliamentarians among the workers of France, America, or England. Hitherto, in the countries named the history of Socialists in Parliament has been a history of Parliamentary treason. This does not prove that the tactics we advocate are unsound. The point is that no one in any of these countries has there been a revolutionary party resembling that of the Russian Bolsheviks or that of the German Spartacists. Were such a party to be formed, everything might be changed. Above all it is necessary: (1) that the centre of gravity of the struggle be situated outside Parliament (in strikes, insurrections, and other forms of mass struggle); (2) that Parliamentary activity shall harmonise with the needs of this extra-Parliamentary struggle; (3) that the members of Parliament shall participate in unconstitutional work; (4) that they shall act in obedience to instructions from the executive committee of the party; (5) that in their Parliamentary activities they shall pay no heed to Parliamentary forms (that they shall have no fear of coming into conflict with the bourgeois majority and that they shall be prepared to defy the majority as much in speech as well as in action).

Whether we should participate in Parliamentary action at a given moment, whether we should participate in a particular electoral campaign—these things depend upon a number of concrete conditions which, in each country, must be the subject of special examination. At the elections to the first Duma, in 1906, the Russian Bolsheviks favoured an abstentionist policy. Six months later, when it had become clear that the dominion of capitalist owners in Russia was destined to last several years longer, the Bolsheviks advocated participation in the elections. At the turn of the year, 1918-19, before the elections to the German Constituent Assembly, some of the Spartacists wished to participate, while others favoured abstentionism. But the party remained a united Communist Party.

We cannot make the renunciation of Parliamentary activity a matter of principle. The Bolshevik Party in Russia, in the spring of 1918, when it was already in power, declared in its seventh congress, in a special resolution, that if, owing to a peculiar turn of events, the Parliamentary bourgeoisie should temporarily regain power, the Russian Communists might be once more compelled to participate in bourgeois Parliamentarism. It would not do for them to tie their hands in this respect.

What we above all wish to emphasise is that in any case the real solution of the problem is not within the precincts of Parliament, but in the street. It has now become clear that for the decisive struggle between labour and capital, the strike and insurrection are the only methods on which we can depend. That is why the energies of the comrades must be mainly concentrated upon the mobilisation of the masses. The creation of the party; the formation of our own groups within the trade unions, and the conquest of these unions; the organisation of Soviets while the struggle is in progress; the guidance of mass action; propaganda among the masses in favour of revolution—these are the first essentials. Parliamentary activity and participation in electoral campaigns are, as far as our work is concerned, of secondary importance and no more.

If this be true, and the truth is indisputable, it follows that those whose opinions differ concerning Parliamentary action can still work side by side for the common cause. Parliamentary prostitution has been so disheartening that some of the best comrades have prejudices upon the matter. We must gradually overcome these prejudices in the course of the revolutionary struggle. We therefore urge upon all the groups and all the organisations which wholeheartedly favour the Soviet regime that they should strive for the maximum of unity, ignoring differences of opinion upon the subject of Parliamentarism.

All who are on the side of the Soviets and of the proletarian dictatorship should get together as soon as possible and form a united Communist Party.

G. ZINOVIEV,

Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

To the Congress of the Italian Socialist Party at Bologna.

Dear Comrades,

The executive committee of the Communist International sends fraternal greetings to your congress, fixed for September 27, 1919. The Italian working class has never lowered the red flag throughout the four and a half years of the accursed imperialist butchery. From the first moment of the bankruptcy of the Second International, there were members of the Italian Socialist Party who, by word or deed, continued to serve the cause of the international-brotherhood of the workers. The women of the working class and the comrades of the Young Socialist movement in Italy have set examples to the world in the way of heroism and stoicism on behalf of the struggle for proletarian enfranchisement. The Italian workers were the first to assume the offensive against the Allied Imperialists when these instituted a campaign of plunder against Soviet Russia. Such have been your great services, and the Third International will never forget them.

Comrades, the activity of your best fighters has paved the way for the organisation of the International and for its coming triumph. The choicest elements of the working class in Europe, in America, and in the world at large, are now rallying to the Communist International. Notwithstanding all the persecution to which it is being subjected, thirty parties have already joined it. The Second International has passed away, killed by its opportunism and its treason. That which still passes by the name of the Second International is nothing more than an assembly of wretched renegades

and of blackleg agents of the bourgeoisie, persecuted and scorned by the working class the world over. Not a single working-class party which respects itself will remain affiliated to this "International," into which the place of honour is assigned to the assassins of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, to the lackeys of the Parisian stock exchange, of the city of London, and of Albert, King of the Belgians.

There is no doubt that you, too, in Italy, will have full sympathy with the Communist International. But our new international comradeship of the workers wants more than sympathy. We need clarity of aims and programmes. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet regime, the destruction of bourgeois democratic Parliaments which are the weapons of bourgeois dictatorship, the creation of the Red Army—these are the tasks for whose performance the international revolutionary proletariat is now closing its ranks.

The Communist International will follow the labours of your congress with keen interest. Control, to you belongs one of the first places in the Third International.

Long live the valiant Italian proletariat! Long live Communism!

G. ZINOVIEV

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

ANGELICA BALABANOVA,
Secretary.

Letter to the Congress of the Communist Party of Finland.

Dear Friends,

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, I send the warmest greetings to your congress. Your party is compelled to work underground. It came into being amid the struggle, not merely against the Finnish bourgeoisie, but also against the White Social Democracy, which, in all essentials, supports the Finnish bourgeoisie. The first revolution took place in Finland during 1908, when as yet there was no organised Communist party in your country. This lack notably contributed to the victory of the Finnish bourgeoisie over the working class. The Finnish bourgeoisie put tens of thousands of workers to death. Now, seated upon heaps of proletarian corpses, it maintains its shameless dictatorship by fire and sword.

Finland is a small country. But just as the sun is reflected in a drop of water, so in your land is reflected all the intensity of the class struggle now in progress throughout Europe and America. The example of Finland has shown that the bourgeoisie, threatened with the loss of its power and its revenues, is ready to sell itself to anyone, to the Emperor of Germany, to the French stock exchange, to the British Imperialists, provided only it can succeed in crushing the working class at home, when this class is moving forward towards power and freedom. The example of Finland has furnished an absolute demonstration that in this epoch when the class struggle has become so acute, when it is taking the form of civil war, we are compelled to choose between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and

the dictatorship of the proletariat. There is no middle course. Any intermediate position, like that of the so-called Social Democratic "Centre" in Finland, is in reality a position on the side of the bourgeoisie. Those who adopt such a position are helping to supply water to turn the mill-wheel of the bourgeoisie counter-revolution.

Your country, comrades, played no direct part in the imperialist war. Finland remained more or less neutral throughout the imperialist butchery of 1914 to 1918. None the less, even in this neutral country, class antagonism reached such a pitch as to lead early in 1918 to the first insurrection of the Finnish proletariat. Like phenomena are now of world-wide occurrence. Revolutionary happenings are manifest not only in Germany, Austria, France, and Italy, not only in belligerent lands, but also among the neutrals, as in Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, and Norway. The working class is making ready for insurrection against the bourgeoisie. It is organising itself to take power, to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to establish a Soviet regime.

You, comrades, are called upon to act under difficult conditions. The Finnish bourgeoisie, which has conquered you for the time being, is in an angry mood. After losing its dominion and subsequently regaining control with the aid of the foreign bourgeoisie, the Finnish bourgeoisie is rancorous in the extreme. Nevertheless the victory will be yours. The executive committee of the Communist International fully assured of this. Wherever the workers have, be they only for a

moment, risen to power and established Soviets, they will renew the struggle, will return to it again and again, until they have made an end of the bourgeois yoke. At no distant date, the Finnish proletariat will rise once more in insurrection. Led by the stalwart Communist Party of Finland, no longer blinded by any illusions, taught by the terrible lessons of 1918, it will march forward unhesitatingly, straight to the goal.

Fraternal greetings from the Communist International.

Long live Red Finland!

Long live the Communist Party of Finland!

G. ZINOVIEV,

Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

Petrograd, September 3, 1919.

Heroes and Martyrs of the Proletarian Revolution.

TYBOR, SAMUELLI.

This name should be and will become familiar to every proletarian.

When the Soviet Republic had been overthrown in Hungary, one of the leaders, a young man of inestimable worth, found his death on the frontier. We do not know the precise circumstances in which this valuable life was sacrificed. According to the official statement, Tybor Samueli shot himself through the head when arrested by the gendarmes of Renner and the Second International, by those who had shortly before been the gendarmes of Charles of Austria. The story may be true. Samueli was a man of strong, pure and independent temperament, and may well have felt that after the overthrow of the Soviet power it did not become him to fall alive into the hands of his enemies. He may well have preferred death to imprisonment. But there is another possibility. Perhaps Renner's gendarmes are of stouter mettle than Noske's. It may be that Zeiz and Bauer are braver men than Scheidemann and Barth. If the German executioners could assassinate Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht "when they were attempting to run away," is there any reason to suppose that the Austrian executioners were not competent to settle accounts with Tybor Samueli?

The proletariat of Hungary should be proud of this figure. The same hatred, the inextinguishable rancour, which the Hungarian bourgeoisie cherished towards Samueli, is easy to understand. He was distinguished by an inflexible will, by exceptional cool-headedness, and by indefatigable energy. In addition, he was a brilliant writer.

Like Bela Kun, he graduated as a revolutionist in Russia, and it was in Russia that the undersigned made Samueli's acquaintance. Before the war he was on the staff of "Nepravda," the central organ of the Hungarian Social Democracy. In the course of the war, in which he took part as a commissioned officer, he was taken prisoner. He was sent to Siberia and to Manchuria, where he had to live under horrible conditions. Often, when seriously ill, he was compelled to work in the marshes or the

mines, standing knee-deep in water. He attempted to escape, but was arrested on the Swedish frontier. At length he was restored to freedom by the revolution.

Thereupon Samueli spread his pinions like a young eagle. Seldom do we meet men who display such whole-souled devotion to the cause which is now shaping a new era in history. One of the characteristics, the hall-mark of a genuine revolutionist, was that he never disdained any task, the most difficult, the most unpleasant, and the least in the limelight. With equal fervour, he would devote himself to propaganda, would write newspaper articles, would take up arms to help in the suppression of counter-revolutionary revolts, would edit pamphlets, work on committees, speak at meetings, or draw up schemes of work for the comrades. At any moment he was ready to pull the trigger of his rifle, which was never far from his hand. A man of great physical courage, he was always on the qui vive.

Obituary notices are seldom free from exaggeration, but it would be difficult to exaggerate where Samueli is concerned. As I write, I seem to see his beloved figure, wearied by overwork, yet none the less vibrant with energy; I see the tired look in his thoughtful eyes and the gentle irony of his smile. He slept no more than four or five hours out of the twenty-four, devoting the remainder of his time to the revolution.

Circumstances have brought me in contact with men of all kinds, and among them I have known revolutionists in nearly every land. Rarely, however, have I met anyone with so charming a personality as Samueli; seldom have I known anyone who was so good a comrade. All his life he was a model of Communist chivalry.

He died young. Had he lived longer, beyond question his richly endowed nature would have undergone even fuller development. But never shall we forget what this man, during his short life, did for the proletariat. In the transitional period between two epochs, his figure takes its place among our martyrs as a symbol of militant Communism.

N. BUKHARIN.

LEON TYCHKO (YOGEHES).

I made the acquaintance of Comrade Tychko in London twelve years ago, at the congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, held in May, 1907.

He had just escaped from prison. At Warsaw, in 1906, he was condemned by the Tsarist judges to eight years' penal servitude for his activities as leader of the strikes and the proletarian insurrection in Poland during 1905 and 1906. At the penal settlement, Tychko's propaganda influenced the soldiers of the guard, who helped him to escape, one of them accompanying him. Making his way promptly from the penal settlement to the London congress, he was leader there of the Polish delegation and a member of the presidential board of this congress of all the Russians.

Tychko already had to his credit sixteen years of revolutionary work. In conjunction with our ever-memorable Rosa Luxemburg and the two Karskis (Marshlevski and Adolf Varcharski) Comrade Tychko was the founder of the revolutionary Polish Social Democratic Party. He was one of the authors of the party programme, a permanent member of its central committee, and editor in perpetuity of its scientific and political press. In a word, he was the soul of the party.

But he was not merely a Polish revolutionist. Tychko was an internationalist Socialist in the fullest sense of the term. He worked with equal energy and equal ability on behalf of the proletarians of Poland, of Russia, and of Germany.

In 1910, for example, sitting in Berlin, he devoted himself exclusively to the German movement. At this juncture the split was beginning between the "Centre" led by Kautsky, and the "Radical Left" headed by Rosa Luxemburg, and sharing her political outlook, and Tychko was one of the chief organisers of this "Radical Left" which centralised the forces of the future Spartacists.

Then the war came. Then official Social Democracy betrayed the workers. Rosa Luxemburg and the other members of the Radical Left were for the most part imprisoned. All who took their stand against the war were visited with fire and sword. This was the moment chosen by Comrade Tychko for an outburst of intense activity.

The darker the night, the brighter the stars. Tychko was one of those whose devotion becomes all the more ardent as difficulties increase. The greater the obstacles, the more resolute his attack.

His very appearance suggested that he was a man of iron. Steadfastness, determination, a will of steel—such were his dominant characteristics. When the defence of the workers' interests was at stake, he did not know the meaning of the word impossible. Tychko organised the first secret groups of German Spartacists. Extremely useful to him in Germany was his extensive experience as revolutionary conspirator in Russia and Poland. Step by step, he built up the Communist Party of Germany, of which

he was leading artificer. A born organiser, he became the chief organiser of the splendid Communist Party of Germany. For this party he was an even greater organising force than the late Sverdlov was for the Russian Bolsheviks.

Rosa Luxemburg was the luminous intelligence of the Communist Party of Germany; Karl Liebknecht was its heart of flame; Leon Tychko was its iron hand.

Remarkable was the affection with which his fellow Communists in Germany were wont to speak of him. "Rosa Luxemburg has been murdered, Mehring is dead, Karl murdered, but we shall have Leon. . . . A wonderful organiser, a man with no nerves, one whose strong and trusty head never shakes, he has become our main prop, and he will help the party through this terrible hour.

Indeed, Tychko had but one thought. He was ardently, passionately devoted to the interests of the Communist Party.

Shortly after the death of Rosa Luxemburg, a letter from Tychko reached me in Moscow. It was a tiny scrap of paper, sent with infinite precautions. He wrote as usual in a virile, strong, firm, and legible handwriting, though he was writing on the morrow of the death of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The message began: "Yesterday, Rosa and Karl did their last service to our cause." Now another syllable on this topic.

In the next line, Tychko, ever chary of words, was dealing with "matters of business," never of the movement, necessary messages, and so on.

Tychko was the embodiment of the practical spirit of the proletariat. Had he lived, he would have become one of the great organisers of the new Communist society.

Scheidemann and his crew were well-aware of Tychko's importance. Their spies were hot on his heels. Nevertheless, for several months those who were wreaking vengeance upon the German worker were unable to seize him. But at the end of March, 1919, after a renewed and unsuccessful effort to bring about a proletarian insurrection, he was arrested in Berlin. The janissaries of Scheidemann took him straight to prison, and, as a matter of course, acting on the orders of the "Social Democratic" Government, promptly shot him, between the stone walls of a dark and narrow passage.

We do not know how he faced death. But none among his personal friends can doubt for a moment that his courage never failed. Assuredly when Scheidemann's bravoes were about to draw trigger, Tychko will have uttered some phrase so full of disdain, and will have turned upon them so scathing a look, that to the last moment of their miserable lives even these hardened assassins, when these memories revive, will not fail to shudder.

Such was Leon Tychko, Spartacist leader. The man of iron, the master builder of the Communist Party of Germany.

G. ZINOVIEV.

KARL LIEBKNECHT.

We should never forget that in Germany, Karl Liebknecht was the first Social Democrat, and that for long he was the only Social Democrat who dared to throw off the degrading yoke of party discipline—that party discipline which had ceased to be a mere secondary means for the furtherance of practical activities, and had become an end in itself, a great Huitzilopochtli, as it were, to which everything was sacrificed. We should never forget that he was the first, and for a long time the only Social Democrat to speak and to act in the German Reichstag as an international Socialist, that in very truth defending “German honour,” the honour of German Socialism. The majority of the Social Democratic Parliamentary group voted warrants for the murder of their brothers; they darkened and poisoned the judgment of the masses through their repudiation of Socialist ideals and their adoption of bourgeois watchwords. The dissentient minority discreetly submitted and held their peace. Karl Liebknecht alone, every inch a man, had the courage to hurl his invincible “No!” in the face of Parliament and the world.

Scorched by the indignation of the bourgeois parties, reviled and humiliated by the Social Democratic majority, forsaken by the Social Democratic minority, he none the less made of the Reichstag a battlefield against imperialism and capitalism, missing no chance of attacking these deadly enemies of the proletariat, and seizing every opportunity of arousing the exploited masses against them. Thus did he continue at work until the day when the Reich-

stag, to its everlasting disgrace, surrendering its own privileges, suspended Liebknecht's Parliamentary immunity, delivering over to the venomous bourgeois class-justice this man alleged to be guilty of high treason. New life sprang from the brave and unceasing struggle. Through Liebknecht's example popular confidence in Socialism flamed up vigorously once more, and the proletarians, their courage revived, made ready for battle. Karl Liebknecht transferred the venue of the fight to the place where it has to be decided, among the masses. By word and deed he wrestled with Imperialism for the soul of the masses. This continued down to the day when bourgeois society wreaked vengeance on the dreaded and detested foe—until the prison swallowed him. Why was he immured? Because he, soldier of the revolution, had in the open street urged the workers to make the First of May festival a formidable demonstration, to repudiate the “truce of parties” in the name of international Socialism, to put an end to the slaughter of the peoples, to sweep away the government of malefactors. The masses made no move to follow their far-sighted and trusty leader. But this disappointment availed just as little as danger and persecution had availed to shake Karl Liebknecht's convictions or to daunt his fighting spirit. This is evidenced by the brilliant and defiant speech he made at the court-martial, a speech that was a classical example of self-defence on the part of a political champion. Our conviction that his courage was unabated was reinforced by all his subsequent activities.

CLARA ZETKIN.

The Trial of Karl Liebknecht's and Rosa Luxemburg's Murderers.

We advise all those who wax indignant over Bolshevik “atrocities,” all those who speak with admiration of the splendid civilisation of the democracies of Western Europe, to read the report of the trial of Karl Liebknecht's and Rosa Luxemburg's murderers. The official records, colourless as they are, arouse a great emotion, burning indignation. They appeal to the heart and to the mind far more strongly than do the most inflammatory speeches, or the laborious writings of lawyers and politicians who aim at proving the beneficence and the justice of the bourgeois regime of liberty, equality and fraternity.

The military judges displayed the most considerate attitude towards the accused, towards those charged with the murder of proletarian leaders. These judges did their utmost to make it impossible for light to be thrown on the crime. The indefatigable energy of the president of the court kept at a distance

all those who might have been able to elucidate the preparations for the murder and the motives of the murderers. As for these last, during the trial they lied shamelessly in order to exculpate themselves, and in order to distort the significance of the crime by imputing it to an outburst of popular indignation. With the aid of their suborned witnesses, they made it appear that as soon as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, then under arrest, were seen in the street, a crowd of soldiers fell upon them and knocked them about. Subsequently, when they were being taken to prison, a mysterious “civilian” sprang upon the footboard of the motor and killed Karl Liebknecht with a revolver shot. But all these monstrous fables vanished into smoke the instant the judges touched them—despite the extreme tenderness of the touch. Indisputable evidence showed that the murders took place in the following circumstances.

For a time after their arrest, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were kept at the Eden Hotel. Thence, on the morning of the crime, they were to be transferred to the Moubit lock-up. Rosa Luxemburg was to be accompanied by First-Lieutenant Vogel, by another officer whose name was not divulged, and by three common soldiers. Directly Rosa Luxemburg emerged from the hotel, the soldier Runge rushed at her and struck her twice with the butt end of his rifle. She fell insensible, bathed in blood. The soldiers threw her body brutally into the car, and as this began to move forward, the unidentified officer struck her violently on the head while she lay unconscious; finally First-Lieutenant Vogel pistolled her point-blank. The soldier seated beside her felt her last convulsive movement. The murderers then took the body into the Tiergarten and hurled it into the pond. Some of the details as to the murder of Karl Liebknecht still remain obscure. This much is certain, that Captain von Pflug-Hartung, First-Lieutenants Stiege and von Rütgen, together with the non-commissioned officers Lippman and Schultz, took him to an out-of-the-way part of the Tiergarten, where he was killed by three shots, one in the head and two in the back. It seems probable that on the way thither he had been rendered insensible by blows from a rifle butt.

This succinct account of the crime makes us shudder at the thought of the wretches who basely perpetrated it. But let us consider the criminals more closely. With the exception of Private Runge, they were all members of the upper class. They belonged to the typical riff-raff of the drawing-rooms. Enough to witness their nonchalant air before the judges. Von Rütgen, still little more than a boy, smiled all the while as he answered the president's questions; during the proceedings, another of the accused read a newspaper with an affectation of intense boredom, so that the president had to call him to order; the third accused went on quietly eating sandwiches while one of the witnesses testified how he had thrown the victim's body into the water. I have already referred to these gentlemen's lies. I have previously explained that they had suborned some of the witnesses. When the soldiers who had been in charge of Liebknecht came back to the hotel, the officers among the murderers gave them wine and cigarettes. Von Pflug handed Peschel, the chauffeur, five hundred marks, and promised him

as much more if he "behaved well." A comrade of the accused, Sander, a non-commissioned officer, suggested to Judge Grützner, at that time a commissioned officer—and the suggestion seemed to come wellnigh with the force of a command—that he should bring pressure to bear upon the soldiers who had been on sentry duty at the Eden Hotel to induce them to bear false witness.

If, further, we take into account the coarse brutality of these "civilised Europeans"—one of them, in private conversation, related that the insensible Rosa Luxemburg was "thrown into the motor as if she had been a sack"; another, who was at the door of the hotel, cried out to the soldiers as he pointed at Liebknecht, "Strike down that swine!"), their mentality and the part they played in the crime become fully comprehensible. No longer does there exist, as regards them, any psychological enigma. But how do we find Runge, the private, among these dregs of high society? The other privates appear to have obeyed orders passively, from fear of the consequences if they did otherwise. An unknown soldier on sentry duty near the hotel picked up one of Rosa Luxemburg's shoes, which had fallen off, and hid it, saying he would keep it as a relic (evidence of Anna Vandenger, washerwoman). Private Runge, a carpenter by trade, is the most disheartening individual we encounter in the trial. In the report he is described as follows: large ears, heavy jaw, excessively large teeth, the general appearance of the face and the shape of the skull suggest a quite abnormal type. According to the medical evidence he was only partially responsible. Returning home after the crime, he quietly went to bed. He detested the Communists because, so he said, "They want to take away my little house in the suburbs of Berlin." One of his brothers is a Communist, and this brother was among the audience in court. Recognising him in the crowd, Runge leapt from the dock, seized a hand grenade from a soldier, and was about to attack his brother as a "gaol bird" and a "sans-patrie." It was the hand of such a degenerate, of such a primitive, grown to manhood in the stone forest of a great city, which extinguished one of the brightest lamps illumining the onward path of mankind.

Worthy accomplice of Ebert and Scheidemann!

The Jaures Monument.

The executive committee of the Communist International has subscribed frs. 50,000 to the fund for erecting a monument to Jaures in Paris. This sum will

be sent through the instrumentality of the Communist Party of France.

Prosecution of Socialists in America.

We learn from "Kladder-tuo," the organ of the Finnish Socialists (dated August 22nd), that the Socialist Party of America has addressed to all the Socialist parties of Europe a message concerning the incessant persecution to which Socialists are exposed in the United States. Since the U.S. entered the war, the Government has attacked the Socialists by arbitrary and violent methods, such as will seem hardly credible in Europe, where the U.S. is looked upon as a free country. All those who do not share the official opinion as to the social order, are regarded in the U.S. as guilty of high treason, and are treated by the Government as criminals.

The Espionage Law and similar enactments have rendered it possible to convict thousands of citizens for their opinions or their actions. At this moment, more than two thousand "criminals" of this category are in prison, the total of sentences imposed on them amounting to more than twenty-five thousand years. The most painful feature of the matter is that these offenders are not treacherous political prisoners but as common criminals.

Many well-known members of the Socialist Party of America are in gaol, and shall not mention all their names. But the reason from which we are quoting speaks of three persons who are well known in Europe, and explains how trifling was the charge on which they were arrested.

Eugene V. Debs has on four occasions been candidate for the Presidency. He has now been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for a speech during the war in which he attacked the war profiteers. Comrade Debs is well over sixty and is in poor health.

Kate Richard O'Hara, who was for a time secretary of the U.S. section of the Women's Socialist International, a mother with several young children to care for, has for the same offence been condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment.

Victor L. Berger, who has been a Socialist congressman, and who is Socialist candidate for Congress at the forthcoming elections, has, with many others, been sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment.

The newspaper from which we quote refers also to the great number of Finnish comrades who have been sentenced in America to long terms of imprisonment. Leon Lukkin, editor of the "Kansan tuo" is among them.

The central committee of the Norwegian Labour Party has sent a telegram to President Wilson, associating itself with the protest against these repressive measures, and demanding the immediate liberation of political prisoners in the U.S. Our Norwegian comrades' telegram declares that the persecution of the Socialists is a disgrace to America.

B.

Thirty-two Executions in Germany.

FROM AN EYE-WITNESS.

My brother and I, being unwilling to depend upon doles from an unemployment bureau, decided to enlist in the army of the republican reserves, and we were enrolled in the naval division. When the trouble began at Adlerhof in March we waited until we were relieved, gave up our arms, and returned home.

On the evening of March 10th, the nephew of one of our neighbours came to see my brother and told him that all those who were served in the People's Naval Division had to report on March 11th between 9 a.m. and 1 p.m. at the divisional office, 32 Franzosen Strasse, to be paid off. We had never been to this office before. Work had been resumed at our relatives' workshop, so my brother and I had given notice on March 1st that we were leaving the office. After having asked for further information at the guard house of the Imperial Bank, we decided to follow orders and to go to the office at No. 32 Franzosen Strasse, to give up our passports and our military baggage.

At about nine in the morning, therefore, accompanied by a comrade, we went to the appointed place. Since these were troublesome times, my brother had taken the precaution of getting as further information from the Kupfergraben guardhouse, and there too he had been told that we were to go to No. 32 Franzosen Strasse.

When we reached the address we were greatly surprised to find there was no one in front of the house, and we were astonished by the strange silence that prevailed all around.

Soon, however, several persons in civilian dress appeared at the door, saying that the pay office was already open, and telling us the way in. Our group, consisting of five or six men, thinking no evil, went through the door and turned upstairs to the left. Hardly had we reached the landing of the second storey, when a door in front of us was suddenly flung open, and from this there rushed seven or eight men brandishing revolvers and crying "hands up." At first we thought they were joking, but we soon realised that we had fallen in an ambush set for members of the People's Naval Division. Directly we had crossed the threshold of the first room, quite a number of persons, some in uniform and some in civilian dress, pointed revolvers at us. The gravity of the situation was emphasised by the presence of machine guns ready for action in the rooms and in the passages. No less ominous were the aggressive attitude of all these men, and the insults and blows with which they overwhelmed us. We were utterly defenceless; and on the least movement by any one of us, threatening cries of "hands up" were reiterated.

After we had passed through three rooms and a passage, covered all the while by two rows of levelled revolvers, we came to a stop in a fourth room, where we were searched, having still to hold our hands above our heads. The search was for weapons, and even our pocket-knives were seized. The results were insignificant, for most of us had given up our arms at the

naval barracks on March 5th. Those who had mounted guard at the Imperial Bank subsequent to this date had been ordered to bring their arms with them when they came to be paid off, and this is why a few of us were still armed on March 11th. But I categorically deny the statement in the newspapers to the effect that the members of the naval division offered armed opposition to arrest. We were weaponless and had had no suspicion. So unexpected was our arrest, that we never even dreamed of defending ourselves. During the arrest the soldiers who were searching us gave remarkable proof of their honesty by "confiscating," without more ado tobacco, cigarettes, and even the money some of us had.

After we had been searched, we were at length allowed to lower our arms. We were then escorted through a passage to another room, and there also machine guns stood ready. Not for an instant did our conductors cease to cover us with their revolvers.

Those upon whom weapons had been found were taken to a "dark room," specially guarded by machine gunners. Here also were the pay clerk and other members of the office staff upon some of whom arms had been found. They had a permit to bear arms signed by Noske, but this availed nothing. We were told to wait. Knowing we had done nothing wrong and nothing illegal, we imagined that the worst would be that we should be taken to Moabit for an enquiry.

More than 300 men of the naval division were thus assembled, some in civilian dress, others in uniform. While we were waiting, the soldiers who had arrested us suddenly noticed that the key of the W.C. door had vanished, and they told us that if it was not found within five minutes, all those near the door (about 50 men) would be shot then and there. Generally speaking, the soldiers never ceased to threaten us, the worst in this respect being the leader, whom they addressed as "Herr Oberleutnant." This man was in mufti, with a revolver fixed to the stump of his mutilated hand. When the room was positively crammed with prisoners, he entered it, and ordered the machine gunners who were guarding us to be ready to fire at the word of command. This threat was not carried out. At noon we were led one by one before the "Oberleutnant," who was surrounded by soldiers faithful to the Government. In the case of each one of us, all he said was either, "To the left," or "Outside." I wish to insist that he listened to no explanations from any of us. To show the kind of man he was I must mention that he ordered some of us to produce their watches or to show rings they were wearing, and when these things seemed valuable to him he said "Outside." The same happened to those among our comrades who were specially well dressed, or who looked more intelligent than the others.

In the end, all those over whom the word "Outside" had been uttered (there were nearly 100 of us) were shut up in a small room. Shortly afterwards a civilian came in (his appearance suggested that he was a clerk in the Imperial Bank). This man ordered those who were serving in the eleventh depot and who had a corps certificate to step forward at the word of command. Several men stepped forward, and were sent to join the group of those who had previously been directed "to the left." I endeavoured to explain to one of the leaders that neither my brother nor I had taken any part in the disorders, but the man to whom I addressed myself would not listen to a word, and roughly told me to hold my tongue.

Under strong arrest, we were then taken to yet another room and were told to wait. While we were thus waiting, a number of officers came in at different times. Among them was a captain who, in conversa-

tion with the others, said: "You are wrong to do what you are doing," or words to this effect—I cannot recall the exact phrase. On thinking the matter over, I am inclined to believe that this captain was telling the Oberleutnant that his action was criminal! If there is an enquiry, the captain ought to be called as a witness.

About twenty minutes later, the door was reopened and we once more passed in file before the Oberleutnant who was standing at the top of the stairs. He again inspected each of us in turn, but was indifferent as before to all the attempts we made to exculpate ourselves.

We passed down the stairs between two rows of levelled revolvers. A few steps short of the main exit a halt was called, for we were not to pass our way through this, but through a small side door, which apparently led into the cloak room, whence access could be gained to the court yard.

Here we noticed from ten to fifteen soldiers stationed behind this door, watching us as we passed through. Our hands raised, and repeatedly proclaiming our innocence, we stopped in terror, realising the fate which awaited us.

Suddenly the shooting began, drowning the cries and moans of the wounded and the dying.

With a bullet wound in the left hand, I stumbled and fell. I was unconscious for a few minutes, but the continued firing brought me to my senses again, and I witnessed the end of this unspeakable atrocity.

Six or seven maddened men, the pay clerk among them, had rushed into the cellar. To judge from the cries of these unfortunate wretches, they were not shot, but were savagely cut down. This supposition was confirmed later by the medical examination of one of the bodies (that of a man named Hinze).

The murderers then proceeded to examine the bodies, finishing off those who still showed any signs of life.

Then I heard the soldiers telling one another to hurry up, for the motor was just going. They left the scene of their crime with a haste which showed that they were well aware what an iniquity they had been compelled to perpetrate.

Profound silence followed. For many reasons I find it impossible to describe the anguish I felt, not alone among these corpses; or to describe what I subsequently suffered during my arrest. I shall merely add that this terrible scene was photographed by the murderers as a souvenir.

The Government soldiers insulted the bodies as the dead as they passed, speaking of the victims as criminals, and even turning out the pockets of the slain.

I shall subsequently relate how I got away from the end of this terrible ambush, but my escape has no direct bearing on the matter. I cannot forget to mention that I saw a young sergeant, still living by chance, amid the corpses of the thirty-two who had fallen, suddenly raising himself from the midst of them, the blood gushing from his wounds.

It is perfectly clear from what I have here set down that the Oberleutnant who was in command had upon his conscience the murder of thirty-two vigorous young men with their lives before them. My brother had done six and a half years' military service and was a regimental postman at the time of his discharge.

I am eagerly awaiting the official enquiry into the affair, and I look forward to the moment when I shall be able by my testimony to help in the punishment of those who committed this abominable crime.

Should my hope be frustrated, should the guilty remain unpunished, I shall for ever cease to believe that justice can prevail in Germany.

The Communist International and the International Organisation of Youth.

The world war led to the ignominious collapse of the Second International. Most of the Socialist parties abandoned the class struggle which they had hitherto professed, though doubtless in name merely. The funds drawn from the loots of the workers were devoted to the propaganda, not of revolution, but of fratricidal war.

Most of the leaders of the Second International became the assassins of the workers. They are directly responsible for the death of millions who have fallen in the world-wide butchery; they are directly responsible for the fact that the working class in all lands groans under hunger and taxation; they are to blame because our young brothers, children to twenty years of age have fallen by hundreds of thousands on the battlefields or have been permanently incapacitated without having known an hour of free and independent life. Nevertheless these "leaders" these men for ever disgraced, are coming to the front once more and are attempting to reunite the scattered international of traitors that they may continue to sell the working class to capitalism and to struggle or betray any revolutionary movement of the proletariat. This was the real aim of the blacklegs, of the lackeys of capital, who met at Berne. But they cannot succeed, and they never will succeed, in reuniting. The youth among the workers was the first to take up arms against them; the youth among the workers will know how to avenge itself. When the workers, led to their fate by the organisations, the party, and the trade unions, were sent by their leaders to the war, when these leaders voted the war credits and preached the abandonment of the class struggle, the Young Socialists of all lands called for vigorous action and organised on their own account. The Young Socialist organisations made it their chief aim to promote the agitation of class-conscious fighters who should become members of the party organisations and the trade unions. Their eyes, no longer blinded by jingoism and reformism, saw more clearly than others the scandalous betrayal of the working class, and they were unable to remain passive spectators of the spiritless existence in which the Left wing of the party was stagnating. Our Young Socialists began a well-directed revolutionary agitation among the toilers and the soldiers. Where the power of reaction made it impossible to work in the open, the Young Socialists established underground organisations, beginning with Germany and Austria.

I shall never forget the First of May, 1916, when, at Berlin, Karl Liebknecht, the great leader and friend of the working-class youth, presided over our manifestation and emphasised the need for turning our rifles against the German capitalists.

The first demonstration of the Young Socialists to attain international proportions was the organisation of the "Young Socialists' day" in 1916. Then were issued the watchwords: "Down with militarism! Soldiers leave the trenches! Refuse to obey the exploiters! Down with the patriotic Socialists and the Jingoists!" On this occasion many of our young combatants were arrested and shot, for there was no stint of cartridges. Even in "democratic" Switzerland the Government called out the troops and employed the machine-gun corps.

But all the efforts of the reaction were powerless to extinguish the revolutionary flame in the hearts of the Young Socialists. The movement grew and spread. In the "International Young Socialist days" which followed, hundred of thousands of workers in every land participated. When Comrade Münzenberg, secretary and leader of the Young Socialist International, was arrested and deported by the "democratic" Government of Switzerland, all the youth of Europe and America rose in protest.

The young proletarians were among the first to acclaim the proletarian revolution in Russia, and none among its defenders were more ardent than they. Indefatigable in the dissemination of Communist literature, they established workers' councils and promoted the organisation of the soldiers. While all this work was in progress, the Young Socialists were exposed to the infamous calumnies of the patriotic Socialists, who endeavoured to crush their movement, and to place them under the control of moderate and reformist leaders, so that they might be "saved from committing excesses." This last plea is invariably put forward whenever the Young Socialists, ignoring the opportunists, set the masses in motion.

But nothing can daunt the Young Socialists. Many of our best fighters, lads and lasses of fourteen and fifteen, have perished in gaol; many have fallen on the barricades in Italy; in hundreds they have been shot down by the butchers Scheidemann and Noske in Germany; many have given their lives fighting in the Red Army for the cause of proletarian Russia.

In all lands, by hundreds of thousands they form the revolutionary vanguard in the struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. In serried ranks, the international organisation of Socialist youth concentrates its forces for the death struggle with those who have betrayed the workers, for the death struggle with the Yellow International. Linking up with the Communist International, whose leaders have more than once aided the Young Socialists in arduous struggles, the Socialist youth will help the proletariat to the victory and the triumph of Communism.

I. STEINEMANN,
Member of the Swiss Young Socialist Organisation.

The Communist Movement of the Russian Youth

A broadly conceived mass movement of the proletarian youth of Russia did not begin until after the March revolution. True, revolutionary groups of young people, having self-education and the dissemination of Socialist thought among the working masses as their objective, were already in existence at the time when the activities of the Russian Socialist parties were illegal. But, in the first place, these groups brought together almost exclusively young students; secondly, under the conditions obtaining during the Tsarist regime they could not assume the character of a true mass movement.

Young workers' groups did not organise within the factories and workshops of Petrograd until March and April, 1917, when a general meeting of the younger employees of various factories was summoned. At this meeting an executive committee was appointed. But what was it that gave occasion for the founding of such groups? Partly it was the example set by the adult workers, who, after the revolution, had energetically applied themselves to the task of building up the different proletarian organisations (parties, unions, clubs, co-operatives, etc.); partly, the unbearably harsh conditions under which youth was compelled to toil in the workshops, where a military discipline still prevailed. The representatives of the groups of young people were also members of the workshop committees, and there they defended the interests of the young workers. From the moment of its inception this movement manifested a far-reaching mass character.

In May an attempt was made to consolidate all the working-class youth of Petrograd into a single organisation; but, in consequence of undesirable influences which had been introduced from outside, there came into being a scattered, non-political, "classless" youth organisation known as "Work and Light." This organisation was headed by representatives of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, who endeavoured to give the movement a trend accordant with their own ideas. But naturally this attempt did not succeed, and it died a natural death in two or three months. It subsided under the pressure of the radical-minded (Bolshevik) youth, which, in June, founded the "Socialist Union of Working-Class Youth," whose task it was to generate class-consciousness among the proletarian youth, and to develop the "propaganda of revolutionary Socialist thought." At the "First All-Petrograd Conference of Proletarian Youth," this union was declared to be the only genuine organisation of the Petrograd working-class youth.

In the summer of 1917, an organisation of youth made its appearance in Moscow, but it exhibited characteristics that differed in many respects from those of the Petrograd union. It originated as a subsection of the Moscow Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party (Bolsheviks), and at the outset remained closely connected with that party. The Moscow movement had no definite mass character. However, in consequence of the adoption by the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, in August, 1917, of a resolution dealing with the Young movement, wherein was recognised the need of forming proletarian mass organisations of youth which, though independent, should remain under party influence and should embody the party ideals, the Moscow Young movement underwent a process of re-organisation, and changed its name from "League of Youth of the Moscow Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party (Bolsheviks)" to "Union

of the Proletarian Youth of the Third International." It adopted the principles of the Petrograd union.

We have dwelt upon the growth of the Petrograd and Moscow organisations because the provincial groups were formed after the model of these. In some localities the groups arose spontaneously—quickly, into being, as was the case in Petrograd, as a result of the impulse towards organisation germinating in the young workers. In other places they were founded by the party committees, and were active primarily only within the bounds of the party's work, as was the case in Moscow.

An intense class war was now in progress. The revolutionary movement was proceeding at an intoxicating pace. It had changed from a bourgeois-democratic into a proletarian movement. It had drawn into its vortex the class-conscious portion of the proletarian youth, and thus hampered the progressive development of a planned and organised youth movement. Organisation of working-class youth sprang up in many Russian towns, but they worked independently and almost without there being any sort of intercommunication between them. Only Petrograd and Moscow played, as we have shown, a certain mediating role between them.

Initially, the Young proletarian movement in Russia placed itself beneath the banner of the Bolsheviks. The explanation of this is simple. The time was carefully pruned conciliatory tactics of the Right and the Centre could not adequately meet the requirements of the spirit of working-class youth. The especially lively, struggle-loving and revolutionary youth naturally found it much easier to adopt the revolutionary tactic based upon proletarian ideology as put forward by the Bolsheviks.

The persecution and calumny of the Left by the bourgeoisie resulted only in making the veteran workers' party more popular than ever among the proletarian youth. In August, 1917, when the most vindictive onslaughts were being made upon the Bolsheviks by the bourgeoisie and the Socialist compromisers, at the time when a bourgeois-democratic clique of Socialists was in power, and when the revolutionary workers seemed to have been shattered, the proletarian youth of Petrograd from their first conference sent heart-felt greetings to the Bolshevik leaders, who were either in prison or in hiding—to Lenin, Zivov, Trotsky, and Lunacharsky—at the same time denouncing the betrayers of the revolution, the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries. In Moscow the organisation developed, as we have seen, along with the Moscow committee of the Bolshevik Party, in whose work it took an active share. Much the same applied to the provinces. Everywhere the proletarian youth fell into step with the revolutionary party of the working class, the Bolsheviks.

The bulk of the proletarian organisations of youth in Russia worked independently. This had a good side as well as a bad—good, in so far as youth learned how to work unaided and to become accustomed to stand on its own legs; bad, because on account of this isolation it received scarcely any support or encouragement from the outside, and this naturally left its impression upon the whole movement. The Bolshevik Party was entirely immersed in the political struggle and in organisational work, and, unmindful of the resolution of the Sixth Congress, it gave the young movement no substantial support.

After the November revolution, the Young movement showed a still more rapid growth. In January, 1918,

It counted 16,000 members in Petrograd alone. They possessed their own papers, branches, and workshop groups. The peasant youth, too, was drawn into the movement. In rural districts, Socialist unions of the peasant youth were formed, their main object being education. Provincial conferences and congresses were called, and in each area the urban and the rural organisations were welded into a single group. In the Urals and in Petrograd territorial combinations embracing a number of provinces were formed.

The further the movement spread afield, the more manifest became the need for co-ordination. But the work of co-ordination was seriously hindered by the conditions then prevailing in the first Soviet Republic of the world. Not until October, 1918—more than one year and a half after the inception of the movement—could the first All-Russian Congress of Young Workers and peasants be successfully convened. The conveners of this congress were the organisations of Petrograd and Moscow. It was held in Moscow, and lasted from 29th October until 1st November, 1918. It was attended by approximately 200 delegates representing about 21,000 members. The most important issue to be decided by the congress was the formation of a Union of Communist Youth with an all-Russian executive.

After the congress the growth of the movement went on apace. The Bolshevik Party began to take a serious interest in it. Many regional and district congresses passed resolutions urging themselves to support the union. Further, the 8th Party Congress, held in March, 1919, recognised that activity among the youth and the existence of the Union of Communist Youth were important, and resolved to give all possible aid.

At present the union embraces about 1500 organisations with a total membership of 80,000-90,000. The provinces of Moscow, Vladimir, and Viatka have the greatest number of organisations, counting 200, 163, and 120 groups respectively. Among the urban organisations, Petrograd leads the first place. In the Petrograd organisation there are something like 6000 members, with 14 sub-groups, each of which has its own clubs, meeting halls, etc. In 21 provinces there are provincial committees which are elected at the provincial congresses, to direct the work within their respective territories. In twelve provinces this is effected through the medium of special bureaux of the provincial and urban organisations. Further, there exist numerous district associations. The greatest strides are being made by the Young movement in the recently liberated regions of the Urals and Siberia, but reliable information regarding the number of organisations in existence in these parts is not yet available.

Also in the adjoining Soviet Republics associations of youth are in being—for instance, in Ukraine, in Latvia, Lithuania, and White Russia. In these republics congresses were held at which organisations of youth were formed. The Communist Union of the Proletarian Youth of Ukraine, founded at the Kieff congress in June, 1919, counted over 10,000 members. At the moment all these organisations are working underground, and concealing themselves with the illegal propaganda of Communist thought. During the time of the occupation, the Union of Ukraine played an important part in the revolutionary propaganda which was carried on among the German and Franco-British troops. In the matter of organisation, all these bodies (except the Latvian) are part and parcel of the Russian Union of Communist Youth, or are within the latter's sphere of influence.

Apart from the central organ of the union, the "Young Communist," published in Moscow, there are 15 other publications in existence. The oldest of these, and the one that appears most regularly, is the "Young Prole-

tarian," the organ of the Petrograd organisation. Unfortunately, shortage of paper and unpropitious technical conditions do not permit of what would be the normal growth of the Red Youth Press. In recent times a practice has been made of setting aside in the party organs a section specially devoted to Communist youth. There are in the different publications of Russia about 30 such "young Communist carriers." The central committee has three such carriers at its disposal: in "Pravda"; in the peasants' journal, "Bednota"; and in the bulletin of the Russian Telegraphic News Exchange ("Rosta").

The union accepts members between the ages of 14 and 23. The preponderant age among the membership is between 16 and 20. Lately the recently formed and hitherto separately existing Communist organisations of students have been merged with the Union of Youth. But as the Communist students are few in number they form a very small minority of the Union, the bulk of whose membership consists of workers and peasants.

The reciprocal relationships between the Union of Youth and the party have up to the present developed as follows: The union, which bases itself upon the programme and the tactics of the party, is an autonomous organisation which works under the control of its own executive centre and that of the local Communist Party committees. The executive of the Union of Youth is controlled by the party executive, whilst the local organisations are exclusively under the control of the party. The union and the party help one another in their work. All party members under the age of twenty are required to join the union and to engage in its activities.

The union is financed by the People's Commissariat of Education. Thus it is seen that the power possessed by the workers and peasants operates here in the best interests of youth.

The space at our disposal does not permit us to enlarge in a detailed manner upon the good work done by the union. Suffice it to mention that under its care and tutelage tens of thousands of young workers and peasants have received a Communist education and have acquired a Communist consciousness. Many of them have already given their lives in defence of the Soviet Republic; others are even at this moment at their posts on the different fronts, while still others are busily engaged in the work of Soviet and party organisation. The union promptly responds to all the demands of revolutionary life, and day by day it furnishes the cause of Communism with new cadres of young fighters—the captains around whom the rank and file may be quickly grouped.

From its earliest beginnings, the Young movement in Russia considers itself to be a part of the international movement of proletarian youth. The first conference of the Petrograd young workers declared the Russian movement of Communist youth to be an integral part of the Young International. In October, 1917, the Moscow organisation responded enthusiastically to the summons—which reached Russia rather late—of the International Youth Bureau to organise a day of protest against the war, and a demonstration of many thousands was the result. It proved the solidarity and power of the entire movement of proletarian youth. Unfortunately we cannot at the moment express ourselves upon the work done by the Russian union for the formation of international ties and the creation of the International of Communist Youth.

On the 5th October of this year there is to take place the Second All-Russian Congress of the Union. The congress will be called upon to decide quite a number of fundamental questions that concern not alone the

union, but all working-class youth. It will show the achievements of the union during the past years, draw conclusions therefrom, and point out the path that is to be taken in the future. We hope that after this second congress the union will gain still more in robust-

ness and power, and that it will constitute the advance guard of the International of Communist Youth now in process of formation.

RYVKIN (SKAR).

The Communist Movement Among the Swiss Youth.

PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF A SWEDISH COMMUNIST.

A few hours' experience in Switzerland will suffice to convince the visitor that considerable hostility towards strangers exists in this country, noticeable above all in the restaurants and theatres of the larger towns. No such hostility is displayed by the workers or by the poorer classes of the population. By these, foreigners are placed on an equal footing with Swiss, and indeed it may be said that foreigners are treated with peculiar kindness. But the bourgeois Press makes a systematic cult of anti-foreign sentiments. The lower middle class, strongly nationalist, turns a ready ear to this propaganda, so that the petty-bourgeois strata of the population become tools in the hands of the Jingoists. The origin of this anti-foreign feeling is not far to seek. For several years Switzerland was the chosen residence of the Russian revolutionists, Lenin, Trotski, Zinoviev, Budek, Bronskaya, Haritonov, and Babalanova. Quite a number of revolutionists of other nationalities have likewise lived in Switzerland; for instance, Munzenberg from Germany, and Schveida (?) from Italy. All these foreigners played an active part in the movement, contributing greatly to diffuse among the Swiss workers the idea of the revolutionary and Socialist class struggle, an idea greatly dreaded by the bourgeoisie. The authorities imagined that if these foreign revolutionists were expelled, and if access to Switzerland for them and their kind were prohibited for the future, tranquillity would be restored throughout the country, peace would ensue, and the "tainted" workers would be induced to put their necks submissively once more beneath the capitalist yoke. The official theory was that discontent had been artificially fostered by the revolutionary Socialists, and that all would be well as soon as this evil influence had been removed. It was a simple theory, falsified by events. Capitalist exploitation in Switzerland continues, and has been increased in severity by the war. Consequently the class struggle, under the guidance of revolutionists of native origin has become more acute.

Nevertheless the Swiss authorities continue their foolish policy of deportation and arrest; they continue to seize newspapers and pamphlets. Police brutality has known no bounds since the notorious "Zurich riots" of November, 1917. At that time, all the seven members of the central committee of the League of Youth were arrested. The police lost their heads completely, and clapped nearly one hundred persons into gaol upon the charge of "frequenting the library of the League of Youth." Munzenberg, Trostel, Marté, and Bucher were likewise arrested, on the charge of having organised the disturbances. Munzenberg and Trostel were set at liberty after two and a half months in prison. The Federal Council then decreed the expulsion of Munzenberg from Switzerland. As is well known, this decision aroused a storm of indignation throughout the world, and the sentence of deportation was consequently modified to one of internment. Munzenberg was interned on June 8th, but when the November revolution occurred in Germany he was deported at his own request.

Among the comrades who have most frequently

suffered imprisonment during the last two years I may mention Jules Humbert-Droz, leader of the young movement in French Switzerland. His various sentences add up to a total of fourteen months' imprisonment. He is a remarkable man, typical of the Swiss revolutionary movement. Humbert-Droz strongly reminds me of Spik, well known in Sweden. At one time in orders, he left the Church owing to a conflict with his superiors. Not a few clerics participate in the Swiss revolutionary movement. Fritz Lieb, a Swiss Socialist, president of the League of Youth, has recently graduated in theology, but devotes all his energies to the revolution instead of occupying himself as a pastor in the saving of souls for the Church. At Zurich, Humbert-Droz and Trostel, and at Basle, Lieb and Arnold are at this moment being prosecuted on three or four different counts. This does not disturb their equanimity. They declare, indeed, that the official persecution serves merely to stimulate their fighting spirit and to spread their influence.

We went to Switzerland chiefly in order to take part in the congress of the League of Youth at Basel. It was held in a little hall belonging to one of the members of the People's House. Although we were rather crowded, and although to our Scandinavian notions the place seemed exceedingly uncomfortable, the general atmosphere of brotherly and kindly welcome was delightful.

The weather was hot in the extreme, and it was not long before jackets and waistcoats were laid aside, this giving the meeting a very homely character. Most of the delegates were younger than those usually sent to such assemblies in Scandinavia; but some of the comrades had formidable beards, so that the general aspect of the gathering did not differ greatly from what we were used to at home.

The deliberations opened on Saturday evening, July 19th. The first item on the agenda was the discussion of the central committee's report. Next came a number of administrative and practical details. In respect of internal organisation and numerical strength, and indeed in other respects, the Swiss League cannot be compared with our Scandinavian organisations. The Swiss League has barely 4000 members. Its publishing activities are comparatively trifling. The Swiss comrades have no Press of their own, whereas in the North have long had good reason to be proud of ours. This state of affairs is chiefly due to the police persecution, to the perpetual confiscations and prohibitions, to which the organ of the League has been exposed. But the movement greatly lacks centralisation, and the unfortunate consequences of this defect are peculiarly conspicuous in relation to publishing activities and in relation to the circulation of the organ of the League. For example, there exist local organs for certain cantons and even for certain groups. There are two distinct publishing centres, Zurich and Basle respectively. It is true that the work of the Swiss comrades encounters special difficulties owing to the polyglot character of the population. German is the language most widely spoken; next in importance comes

French; Italian is the language in certain cantons of southern Switzerland; finally, Romansch is the tongue of Grisons. I should add that in German Switzerland a dialect is spoken which is barely comprehensible even to those who know German very well. Despite this babel of tongues, the language question is not a cause of dissension in Switzerland, so that here Switzerland has the advantage over Finland and Norway. Among the Swiss, conflict rages over very different matters.

In French Switzerland, the Young movement has struck deep roots, and here there circulates a newspaper edited by Humbert. In Italian Switzerland, on the other hand, every attempt at organisation has failed.

But if, in our study of the movement of Young Switzerland, we cannot fail to see certain weaknesses, to discern the symptoms of the maladies of childhood which we in the North have long outgrown, we cannot fail, none the less, to be filled with admiration for the propagandist activities of the little Swiss League. Our Swiss comrades have stamped such terror into the heart of the bourgeois rulers of the country, that these bewail the disastrous influence of the Young Socialists' propaganda and are endeavouring to suppress it by every means in their power.

But I have wandered away from my subject and must return to the meeting.

Some of the comrades from French Switzerland had decided to propose a resolution to the effect that the League of Youth should be in the arming of the proletariat. When this intention was disclosed, a fierce campaign against the comrades was opened in the bourgeois newspapers. Some of the journals demanded the prohibition of the gathering; others declared that all the delegates must be arrested, and so on.

The authorities, however, decided to wait until the question of the arming of the working class actually came up for discussion.

On the Sunday this city was reached. Emil Arnold, secretary of the league, read an admirable report containing a lucid demonstration of the need for the arming of the workers. The matter was now thrown open

for general discussion, but at this juncture two police agents who had been hiding in a neighbouring room entered the hall and announced that the meeting was closed. Great was the wrath at this insolent declaration. Some of the comrades were for ejecting the two intruders without further parley, but at the request of the chairman calm was restored, and the congress discussed the situation created by the police intervention and considered the best course to adopt. The debate was a lively one, and the unfortunate police agents had to listen to some home truths. It was finally decided that the congress should continue its labours, but in a less disturbed situation—in the mountains. The agents then left the room greatly discomfited, amid volleys of claff from the delegates.

We promptly made our way up the neighbouring hill-side, and after a brief interruption, the discussion was resumed as soon as sentinels had been posted on all sides. About two hours later the police did in fact put in an appearance, but it was obvious that they had no relish for their job. The sentinels notified us of their approach, and our "war council," after a short consultation, decided that we must go a few hundred feet higher up the mountain. There we finished our labours in perfect tranquillity.

The resolution on behalf of the arming of the proletariat was carried unanimously. Consequently the sleuthhounds of the police, who were again upon our track, did not succeed in preventing the discussion of this matter and had their climb for nothing. The delegates, in high good humour, returned to the town, singing in chorus. Such was the end of this most original congress. We bade farewell to our Swiss comrades. It was obvious that they would be exposed to fresh persecution on account of the resolution just voted. But it was equally clear that, whatever happened, they would not allow themselves to be beaten, but would continue with unabated courage to march forward towards our common end, overcoming every obstacle which might be placed in their path.

O. S.

Scandinavian Congress of Working-Class Youth.

The first general congress of delegates from the Socialist revolutionary youth of the three Scandinavian countries was held at Hillerød, Denmark, on Sunday, August 17th. "Fremad," the organ of the Social Democratic League of Youth, had an article on the congress, recalls the innumerable times which for centuries have united the Scandinavian lands. "The Castle of Frederiksborg at Hillerød was the palace of the penultimate of those kings of Denmark who reigned on both shores of the Sound and over rocky Norway. Of the penultimate of these kings for the ties were then broken! They were broken because they were founded upon the love of power; upon the lust for gold, upon tyranny. The soul of the masses was untouched by the union, and that is why those bonds were easily rent asunder. Now, in this historic spot, are assembled the delegates of the young workers, the representatives of the people, the pioneers of the future; they are assembled to unite the nations of the north by new ties of comradeship, of brotherly concord, and of love!"

The Scandinavian congress took place in a hall tastefully decorated with flowers and red flags. There were present eighty delegates with full voting powers (thirty Danish, twenty Norwegian, and thirty Swedish), in

addition to a few Danish comrades able to participate in the discussion but with no right to vote.

Ernst Christiansen, Danish delegate, welcomed his fellow delegates in the name of the Swedish secretarial board. "We meet," he said, "in the first Scandinavian congress of youth at a time when the human race may be described as standing on the dividing line between the old world and the new. We represent in this hall fifty thousand young Socialist workers who have joined the Third International, the international of action."

After "The International" had been sung, A. D. Henriksen recited a prologue, and subsequently E. Olafsen and Sven Linderot conveyed greetings to the congress from the Norwegian and Swedish guests. A telegram was read from Otto Grimlund, who had reached Copenhagen the day before, August 16th, had been arrested by the Danish police, grossly maltreated, and then expelled from Denmark. The congress resolved to protest with the utmost energy against this outrage and to telegraph the remonstrance to Zale, Minister of Justice, and to Minister Stanning.

Ervig (Denmark), Linderot (Sweden), and Olafsen (Norway) were elected members of the congress board.

Hellberg (Denmark) was appointed general secretary. Two additional secretaries were appointed for each country: Silten and Viksten, for Sweden; I. Larsen and Oscar Toru, for Norway; Hans Neusen and Honore, for Denmark.

Two committees were then chosen. The first of these was to deal with Scandinavian questions of general interest. Its members were: Nils, Flug and Johan Nord, for Sweden; Edgord and Leve, for Norway; E. Jensen and C. Christiansen, for Denmark.

The "committee for principles and tactics" was composed of the following delegates: Z. Høglund, Martha Larsson and Eynard Adamson, for Sweden; Olausen, Olsang, and Beter, for Norway; Johan Ervig, R. Hausen, and V. K. Nilsen, for Denmark.

M. Trauuel gave the first report, which dealt with the Norwegian Labour movement in general and with the young workers' movement in particular. He closed with an ardent appeal to the young workers to devote all their energies to the revolution, so that revolutionary trends might get the upper hand in the Scandinavian Labour movement.

The congress now passed to the discussion of Scandinavian questions of general interest. Ernst Christiansen read the draft of a scheme put forward by the committee relative to work upon the common task. The discussion was opened by Olausen, and general discussion followed. All the speakers were in practical agreement with the committee's proposals for the co-ordinated activities of the three Leagues of Youth. After a few minor corrections had been made in the draft, the following resolution was adopted:

"Our aim is to bring about closer collaboration between the organisation of youth which accept the platform of the International Youth, to secure closer unity and the reinforcement of our fighting strength, no less in point of organisation than in matters of principle and policy.

(1) "There is hereby constituted a Scandinavian secretarial board, comprising a secretary and two additional members, one member to represent each of the three countries. The board will have the functions already indicated, and will in addition do its utmost to maintain continuous relationships between the affiliated bodies. It will send to all the leagues and to the party press such documents and information as may be necessary. Each country will separately elect its own member of the board, and the board will elect its secretary general from among its own members. The appointment of this official must be ratified by the league to which he belongs. He will hold office for one year.

(2) "If in the three countries or in any one of them some political or social question of urgent importance should arise, the board will submit it to verbal or written discussion, and will in case of need summon a general Scandinavian congress or conference.

(3) "The Scandinavian congresses of youth should be held at least once every eighteen months, and if possible once a year. In any year when there is no congress, a conference should be held.

(4) "Each league will send three delegates to the congress for every thousand members, with the reservation that no league may be represented at the congress by a larger number of delegates than two-fifths of the total.

(5) "Each league shall have the right of sending to the conference three representatives for every ten thousand members (with the same reservation as in the previous section).

(6) "To defray the expenses of the secretarial board, each league shall pay, if possible, a subscription of not less than one öre per member per annum. If this sum prove insufficient, the secretarial board has the right

to demand from the leagues an extraordinary payment which shall not exceed ten öre per member per annum.

(7) "Every year, joint assemblies shall be held.

(8) "As far as may be possible, the clubs and branches of the league in each country shall, during the summer, organise excursions for their members in the other Scandinavian countries.

(9) "At least once a month the leagues should organise an exchange of propagandists.

(10) "Every club must take out at least two postal subscriptions to every organ of the leagues of the two other countries. These subscriptions shall be taken out in the name of the president of the club, but the journals will be available for all the club members.

(11) "Every year a Young Socialist Day must be organised for the whole of Scandinavia. Throughout this day, all the clubs will hold meetings at which speeches will be delivered relating to the Young movement in the various Scandinavian lands. The collections will be devoted to the common cause."

The question of a labour college for all the Scandinavian lands was mooted. The secretary was instructed to study the matter and to report to the next congress. The congress further instructed the secretarial board to open communications with the publishing enterprises of the various leagues with a view to the better co-ordination of their activities.

This closed the first day's business.

In the evening there was a concert with recitations, etc. The audience was profoundly impressed by Nerman's verses on Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, recited by S. Janson.

On Monday, the first business of the congress was to hear the report of Nils Flug on education and culture. The speaker first of all expressed his profound regret that Arvid H. Haussen, a Norwegian comrade who was to have reported on this question, had been unable to attend the congress. He went on to describe the activities of the Swedish comrades in the fields of education and culture. Most of the circles for Socialist education in Sweden had been founded by the Swedish League of Youth. According to the latest reports, there were now in existence two hundred and sixty such circles. Nevertheless, in the speaker's opinion, the results obtained could not be regarded as satisfactory. First of all, the educational work suffered from gaps in organisation. Secondly, more than half of the members of the League of Youth had not joined the study circle. It was to be hoped that these deficiencies would be remedied in the future. It was desirable, in addition, to organise courses and to arrange for lectures throughout the country, in every district, for comrades delegated by all the clubs of the League.

"We have to recognise," said the speaker, concluding his report, "that educational work is one of the most important of our tasks."

Flug went on to show that at the present time education was a dangerous weapon in the hands of the reactionary forces, seeing that the workers had hitherto for the most part been satisfied with the educational pabulum provided by the authorities. He laid special stress on the fact that the revolutionary labour movement needed experts of working-class origin. "We live in a great epoch; it devolves on us to solve complex and difficult problems by suitable organisation in the domain of education and culture we must prepare for the satisfactory discharge of the duties incumbent on us."

Harold Jensen (Denmark): "At a time like the present, the claims on every thinking man are exceptionally heavy. All class-conscious workers must have an intimate acquaintance with scientific Socialism. We have to teach Socialism, history, and technique."

But it was useless, he said, to try to convert comrades into joining the study circle.

Their participation must be voluntary, and it must therefore be our aim to awaken our comrades' interest in instruction and study. It is thus essential that work to this end should be seriously organised.

The circles must be satisfactorily staffed.

What was requisite in the study circles was discussion rather than formal lectures.

When a few other delegates had spoken on this question, the congress passed the next item, the International of Youth.

K. Olausson reported on the question. He detailed the history of the International of Youth and the results of its political and organizing labours. Throughout the world, the political acts of the Young Socialists were carried on in accordance with the principles of the Third International. In certain countries there still existed minority groups carrying on an increasingly hopeless struggle against the new trend. The speaker referred to the International Congress of Youth which is to be held shortly. "It is of the utmost importance," he said, "to arouse and to instill among the toiling masses an interest in international events in events which may have a decisive influence in our respective countries. Showing the capitalist reaction with the victory over Russia, we will triumph throughout Europe, and will reduce the workers to the status of dumb driven cattle."

It was agreed that further discussion of the question should be postponed until the report on democracy and dictatorship had been read. K. K. Steinke, member of the Danish Parliament, based on this topic. Historical experience, he said, as well as moral and ethical considerations, spoke in favour of democracy as against dictatorship. He was prepared, in certain conditions, to admit the need for dictatorship and revolution. But the dictatorship must be more than a transitory phase, for dictatorship is force and force engenders brutal reactions, leading to a reaction which renders the upbuilding of Socialist society impossible. Z. Höglund spoke next, briefly expounding the position taken up by the Second International and the evolution of this body since the beginning of the world war. He showed that bourgeois society was based upon the dictatorship of the minority, as was witnessed by the restrictions in the right to vote, etc. Bolshevism and the Third International did not tend to increase a dictatorship exercised by a minority of the working class. The supporters of the Third International held that power should be seized by the majority of the organised workers. In Russia, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the suffrage was wider and more democratic than in any capitalist country. In Russia every citizen who took part in productive or administrative work, every creator of values, possessed the vote. Thus the dictatorship automatically abolished itself, and true Social Democracy came into being.

What was the Second International?

It was an impotent party despised by the Allied capitalists because it talked without doing anything. Because it was unable to use the means indispensable for the victory of the working class. For Young Socialists the choice between the two internationals was easy. They must join the International of action.

This speech was followed by an interesting discussion in which, besides the opening speakers, Steinke and Höglund, the participants were Olausson, Henriksen, Helberg, Hausen, Olsang, and Tranmø.

Herewith ended the proceedings of the second day.

In the evening the delegates made an excursion to Neddelø.

The following day was devoted to important discussions on principles and tactics. At the opening of the

session, Ernst Christiansen read the resolution drafted by the committee: "The first Scandinavian congress of Socialist youth expresses its satisfaction at the firmness which the Young Socialists of the International movement have displayed during the war, and at the increasing clearness with which the resolutions passed at the congresses and conferences of the Scandinavian Leagues of Youth testify to the unqualified adoption by the young workers of the principles of the revolutionary class struggle. The congress declares that the International of Youth must adopt the platform of the Third International. It declares further that the young workers must by means of intensified propaganda be instructed in the application of the methods of struggle and the forms of organisation indicated by the theory and practice of the Third International."

Christiansen, introducing the resolution, spoke as follows: "This resolution aims at grouping Scandinavian youth upon a definite Socialist platform. To-day we have to lay down fundamental principles, while leaving each league free to form its own independent decision. Our place is in the ranks of the Third International."

Helberg opened the general discussion, and read a telegram announcing that the Swiss party had decided to join the Third International.

H. Hausen declared that he was in agreement with the majority as to the need for fighting militarism. He was opposed to the attitude of the Social Democracy, but in his view the best course would be, remaining within the party, to attempt to modify this attitude and to bring about a movement towards the Left.

He added that the minority had decided that it would not vote for joining either the Third International or the Second. In his opinion the enormous majority of Danish workers were in favour of the Third International.

Olsang, Jensen, Hveldros, Sillen, and Helberg all spoke in support of the resolution.

The discussion lasted most of the day. The minority vigorously defended its remarkable outlook, but was unable to secure any further support. The committee's resolution was ultimately carried by 68 votes against 5.

In the name of the women delegates to the congress, Martha Larssen proposed the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:

"In the class struggle, which grows acuter day by day, and in which, if we are to gain the victory, we must concentrate all our energies, we must not forget that among the working masses there are women."

"We recognise the supreme importance of the present hour; we are aware that our enemies are mobilising their troops and marshalling their forces in order to stifle our movement, which continually advances, threatening the very existence of the capitalist dictatorship."

"We must further remember that until the whole working class, without distinction of sex, participates in this struggle for its class interests, there can be no hope of victory. For these reasons the congress expresses its firm conviction that one of the main tasks of the Young Socialist movement must be to bring about a closer co-operation than as yet prevails with the analogous organisations of women, that we may promote energetic joint propaganda and educational activities among working girls and women."

After further speeches had been made by Comrades Olausson, Viksten, Ervig, and Christiansen, the congress was declared at an end, and the delegates dispersed singing "The International."

Congress of the American League of Youth

On May 4th the congress of the American League of Youth came to an end. Among the resolutions passed by the congress, one referring to the Berne conference of the Second International is worthy of note. The Berne conference is termed "a bourgeois meeting which has nothing to do with Socialism." The resolution goes on to state that the Second International is bankrupt and to refer to the pressing need for founding a new Red International. A subsequent resolution demands the recall of the U.S. Expeditionary Force from Russia. Another resolution advocates the formation of unions of producers. Yet another condemns the so-called "amnesty congress," emphasising the fact that amnesty

is not a thing to petition for but to exhort. Other resolutions deal with the propaganda of the league and with methods of organisation.

A president had to be elected in place of William Kruse, who has been sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment as a Socialist agitator. The new president is Oliver Carlson, well known among the young workers of the States for his educational activities at the evening Labour College in Detroit and for his talents as speaker and journalist.

The American League of Youth publishes "The Young Socialist Magazine," which has a circulation of 4500, and carries on energetic propaganda.

F.

To Arms!

MANIFESTO OF THE GERMAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNIST YOUTH.

Comrades! Once again the day of proletarian youth drawn nigh, the international day of the young workers. This time, on September 7th, the young revolutionists of all lands will join hands across the artificial frontiers, across the trenches, across the occupied territories, across the seas and the mountains.

It was amid the universal horror and devastation, when millions of proletarians were falling in the war, that the proletarian youth organised its first international day. In 1915, the leaders addressed to their followers an appeal, summoning them to proclaim everywhere on the same day their unanimous and insuperable will. It was to be a day of battle for the young.

Yes, a day of battle. A shameful desertion had delivered over the proletarian youth to the governing classes and to militarist Imperialist butchers.

Voting for the war, the traitors to the cause of the working class voted for the extermination, for the sacrifice, of the young. And the young have been ruthlessly sacrificed. Their blood has flowed in streams across the battlefields of Europe and Asia; under the knout of capital they have been compelled to exhaust their utmost strength. Now was it their bodies alone which were thus reduced to slavery; their minds also were enshained and led captive.

The brutalising discipline of army life did its utmost to destroy in the young their powers of thought. "Civilised society," making sacrifice to its base idol of profit, offered up everything, offered up even mankind's chief consolation, the hope of a glorious future.

But these torments, these sufferings, with which the international proletarian youth seemed overwhelmed, have served to awaken it to consciousness. Community in affliction has made the young workers realise their community of interest, has made them aware that they have a common enemy. That which previously was apt to be an empty phrase has now become a living truth. "There is only one enemy, whom we all hate; there is only one freedom, which we must all share!" This awakening has made short work of nationalist phraseology. The young have become internationalists, for in each land they have at length realised their solidarity with working brothers the world over.

Simultaneously, the young revolutionists have felt

growing and strengthening within them a glowing impulse to fight Imperialism and capitalism by all possible means, and a determination to rouse the youth to action who still hesitate and doubt.

The young proletarians of all lands have resolved to proclaim openly their international solidarity and their unity. Wherever youthful workers landless and slavery and oppression, they have decided that on this day of days they will make known that they are all working for the same and only end. On this day, across the trenches and the frontiers, they will stand up simultaneously, so that those of each land may be satisfied that in other lands too they have brothers and sisters ready to devote their energies to the realisation of the same ideal. The chief aim of this manifestation is to inspire the young with the ardent trust of the great ideals of international brotherhood and humanity. The international day of youth is, therefore, a day of struggle against war and militarism, against exploitation and slavery. Nor has the struggle been fruitless. Freedom glows in the east, the dawn of the world revolution. Vainly have the forces of darkness driven against that dawning, for not all their powers could prevent it! Dauntless warriors have raised the red flag on high, the flag drenched with the blood of their tortured hearts. In the foremost files of those fighting for the defence of this flag, stand the young.

Once again comes the day of youth! The day of youth in the year of the world revolution. Already the earth shakes with the thunder of its approach. The young have sealed in blood their devotion to the revolution. In Russia, in Hungary, in Germany, youth has never in the van.

The revolutionary torrent swells day by day, day by day its waters rush across some new countries. And Germany has been summoned to be the centre of the coming fight.

Make ready, comrades, make ready for the day of youth. Make ready, that this day may be a striking demonstration in favour of the world revolution.

The international proletarian youth must stand on this day that in the great battle it will be foremost in the assault.

We must show that the revolution is not dead! Even in Noske's empire. Blow lustily upon the drums of

revolution, till you kindle it to flame! Raise the red standard to show the way to the fighting masses! Awaken the sleepy and the indifferent; rally them, organise them; revolutionise their minds and their hearts!

We shall show that the young likewise are strong when they are resolute! This day will be our review before the battle.

One more sacrifice, and we shall win what we so ardently desire. Then shall we celebrate the victory of the youth of the wide world! All hail to youth! All hail to the world revolution!

THE GERMAN LEAGUE OF COMMUNIST YOUTH.

Reports and News.

Bulgaria.

THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NARROW SOCIALISTS).

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party has always been firmly and irreconcilably opposed to war. A few years before the Balkan war it fought vigorously against the nationalist policy of conquest that was being pursued by the bourgeoisie and the monarchy. In 1910 the Social Democrats of Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania, and Greece, holding a joint conference at Belgrade, advocated the principle of a Balkan Socialist Federative Republic. The Balkan Socialists advocated the same principle with yet more vigour at a second Balkan conference held at Bucharest in 1915. The Bulgarian Social Democracy is in fact striving to bring about the national unity and independence of the Bulgarian people, and to the national unity and independence of the other Balkan peoples, not by a nationalist policy of conquest, but by way of the revolution and the foundation of a democratic republic. In 1912 and 1913, therefore, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was absolutely opposed to the war.

During the Imperialist war of 1914, the party was faithful to its convictions. It resisted the participation of Bulgaria in the world war, and it strongly opposed the parties which voted the war credits. It protested against the tactics of the International Socialist Bureau during the war, and in 1915 delegates to the first Zimmerwald conference. Throughout the country, the Social Democrats carried on courageous propaganda against the war. Just before Bulgaria entered the struggle, the party issued a manifesto against mobilisation, and for this the members of the Parliamentary group were subsequently prosecuted. On December 15, 1915, in the National Assembly, the Parliamentary group protested against the war, and voted against the war credits. Down to the close of hostilities it remained true to principle, and it is the only party in Bulgaria which has struggled against the war. Throughout the Balkan war and throughout the Imperialist war the "broad" Socialists (the patriotic Socialists of Bulgaria) joined forces with the nationalist bourgeoisie and with the Imperialists. In 1917, like all the Russophil parties, they advocated the intervention of Bulgaria on the side of the Allies. But as soon as Ferdinand and Radoslavov had forced Bulgaria into the camp of the Central Powers, as soon as Serbia had been crushed and Macedonia conquered, the "broad" Socialists gave their support to the policy of Radoslavov's Government. At the conference of the patriotic Socialists held in Stockholm in the year 1917, they demanded that Macedonia, Dobrudja, and the strip of Serbia between the Morava and Timok rivers as far as the Austrian frontier should be annexed to Bulgaria.

The Social Democratic were repeatedly prosecuted on account of their ceaseless and energetic campaign.

Their organ, "The Workers' Herald," was rigorously censored. Many of the comrades at home were arrested, and a still larger number at the front. Many were court-martialled. Of three Social Democratic deputies prosecuted, one was sentenced to three years' and another to five years' imprisonment. The amnesty came before sentence had been passed on the third. But the party continued its campaign regardless of persecution. After the Russian revolution, the circulation of the "Workers' Herald" increased to fourteen thousand. In Sofia the party held a great meeting, attended by more than 10,000 persons, to discuss the Russian situation. Many other meetings were held all over the country.

When the position of the Central Powers became shaky, Ferdinand, through the instrumentality of the Russophil leaders, secretly endeavoured to open negotiations with the Allies. Documents illustrative of these negotiations have been published in the Russian Press. The attempt failed because the Allies' first condition was Ferdinand's banishment. Nevertheless, the Tsar entrusted the government of the country to the democrats and the radicals, with Mallinov as Premier, hoping that these changes would facilitate subsequent negotiations with the Allies.

At home the situation was becoming increasingly strained; at the front, the soldiers, hungry and ill-clad, were growing fiercer in their impatience. By the circulation of secret manifestoes, by propaganda, and by reiterated protests, the Social Democratic Party now began to clamour for immediate peace. Nevertheless, Mallinov continued Radoslavov's policy. He was well aware that the army could not resist the Allied offensive, but he deliberately suffered the defeat and the rout on the front in September, 1918, hoping in this way to transfer Bulgaria from the Central to the Allied camp. We must not forget that Mallinov is one of the most noted among the leaders who had favoured Bulgaria taking the side of the Allies.

The Government sued for peace, and the Allies made peace on condition that Ferdinand was banished. This banishment, therefore, was the work, not of the bourgeois parties, but of the victorious Allied armies. Some of the retreating Bulgarian forces mutinied and seized the town of Radomir, twenty miles from Sofia. The Government sent two emissaries to treat with the mutineers—General Savov (Tsar Ferdinand's aide-de-camp) and Stambolyaki (leader of the Agricultural Union). The soldiers were deaf to all entreaties, and the general had to return to the capital. Stambolyaki cast in his lot with the mutineers, who numbered from 10,000 to 15,000, and had himself proclaimed President of the Bulgarian Republic. But very few of the soldiers were

inclined to fight to the death for the republic. Some of them wanted to march on Sofia to avenge their grievances, but the majority were eager to return to their village homes. The force which set out from Rodnits to Sofia was not more than 3000 or 4000 strong. There was a complete lack of organisation, and consequently the Bulgarian Government found it easy to crush the first detachments of insurgents with the aid of a handful of German soldiers and the native junkers (Bulgarian cadets). The remainder of the insurgents dispersed. All taken alive were shot by order of the Government. Daskalov, of the Agricultural Union, leader of the attacking force, fled to the Allied camp at Salonika. Stambolyski went into hiding, subsequently sending Boris II., the new Tsar, a letter containing protestation of loyalty. The Social Democrats had played no part in the insurrection, for there were not enough of them among the insurgents to organise the movements along their own lines and to give it a revolutionary trend. The party was weak at Sofia, for there was no concentration of operatives in the capital. The munitions used by the Bulgarians throughout the war had been imported from Germany. The rising was exclusively the work of the Agricultural Union, and was turned to account by the Allies for the dethronement of Ferdinand. But immediately after the change of scene, the Agricultural Union, represented by its Parliamentary group of fifty deputies, basely deserted the insurgents, and rallied to the support of young Tsar Boris. Nor was it long before Stambolyski and Draghev secured appointment as Ministers of the new ruler. The "broad" Socialists who had likewise betrayed the insurgents, formed a coalition with the new Ministry, and their leaders Sakyzov and Djidrov joined the Ministry.

Thus did the parties of the "Left," the lower middle-class parties, throw off the mask, and take their stand openly with the monarchy and the reaction. Under the pretext of maintaining "order" and tranquillity, and on the ground that what they did was necessary to "save" the country, they went out of their way to rescue the monarchical and bourgeois regime. In the National Assembly the Government of the "Left" was supported by Radoslavov's majority. Thus under the new Government, as under the old, the Social Democratic Party formed the only opposition in Parliament and in the country. In the new conditions it continued the struggle with great zeal and with increasing success. It protested in Parliament and out of Parliament against the brutalities of repression and the massacre of the insurgents. It instituted vigorous propaganda for clemency to the insurrectionists and the victims of the courts-martial. It successfully organised hundreds of meetings throughout the country, circulating clemency manifestoes by the thousand. It loudly proclaimed as its watchwords: The Socialist Federative Soviet Republic of the Balkans and of Bulgaria; the dictatorship of the proletariat; a national militia and a Red Army; the expropriation and Socialisation of all the means of production and exchange; the confiscation of the primary necessities of life with the communal organisation of their distribution; and so on. The party undertook the most extensive propaganda on behalf of these principles, not merely among the operatives, but in addition among the poorer population of the countryside. Its activities were crowned with success. It extorted amnesty from the "Left." In its propaganda pamphlets it put forward the maximum programme of the revolutionary Social Democracy, turning to the utmost account the lessons of the proletarian revolutions in Germany and Russia. Half a million copies of these pamphlets were circulated. Among them may be mentioned: a Socialist calendar with portraits of Lenin and Liebknecht, 60,000 copies; the party's "Revolutionary Demands," 100,000 copies;

three Parliamentary speeches, 40,000 copies; "Bolshevist Russia," containing a detailed description of the struggle, the success, and the organisation of the Russian Soviet Republic, 25,000 copies; etc. In the press are Lenin's books, "The State and Revolution" and "Imperialism"; we are also publishing "The Russian Soviet Constitution." Our congress was held this year on May 25th, 26th, and 27th. More than 600 organisations and branches were represented.

About half of the branches and the members belong to the rural districts. The party keeps in close touch with the General Federation of Trade Unions, to which are affiliated thirteen trade unions with 230 branches and 12,800 members; with the Social Democratic Union of School Teachers, which has 1100 members; with the Union of Civil Servants, which has 1021 members; and with various other bodies. The May congress, attended by 650 delegates, bore witness to the growing strength of the Social Democratic Party. Summoned as the twenty-second annual congress of the party, it assumed the name of first congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria (affiliated to the Communist International). The Social Democratic Party used to be known as the Communist Party of Bulgaria. The congress drew up the party programme, which in respect of principles and tactics is that of the Communist International. It recognises the following means of struggle: propaganda among the masses; the political general strike; even armed insurrection. The leading points in the programme are: the conquest of political power; the destruction of the extant State; the formation of Soviets as organs of proletarian dictatorship; and the establishment of a Soviet republic, the expropriation and Socialisation of the means of production and exchange; the organisation of a national militia and of a Red Army; the enforcement of proper working conditions; the provision of dwellings for homeless workers; etc. The congress decided upon the publication of a manifesto addressed to the Bulgarian workers, containing the programme of the Communist Party of Bulgaria. The party congress was followed by the trade union congress, which was equally successful.

The daily organ of the party, "The Workers' Herald," has now a circulation of 30,000, being the most widely read newspaper in Bulgaria. The success of the party have aroused the anger of its enemies. The cabinet of the "Left," comprising two "broad" Socialists, three Agrarians, two Radicals, two Conservatives, and one Tsankovist, makes use of all the weapons of the reaction (to wit, the police and the army) against the Communist Party. It was this government that massacred the operatives of Slivna and Pernik. The ranks of the Bulgarian patriotic Socialists drip with the blood of the workers, but revolutionary enthusiasm grows, and the revolutionary movement spreads in spite of persecution. Indeed, persecution seems to add fuel to the flames. Proof of the rapid growth of the movement is afforded by the fact that in the first of May demonstration 150,000 of the workers and poorer peasants marched under the party flag. An additional proof is the voluntary subscription of two hundred thousand leva (francs) to the "Workers' Herald" fund.

The congress decided upon participation in the elections to the National Assembly should they take place under existing conditions—that is to say, before the revolution breaks out. The chief reason for participation in the elections is to intensify the party propaganda and to increase the revolutionary power of the proletariat. It should be explained that there are certain intellectualist groups among the workers, led by Horlakov, which style themselves "the Communist Party of Bulgaria." These groups brought forward a resolution that the trade unions should leave the party to join Horlakov's groups and to affiliate also to certain trade unions dominated by the "broad" Socialists. The new

fusion was to have of neutral basis. The motion was unanimously rejected. Florukov's groups comprise a few hundred members only and do not represent any real party. If they usurp the title of "Communist Party," it is in order to turn to account the authority of the Communist Party of Russia for their own separatist and arriviste aims. The congress, therefore, urged the workers of these groups to rally to the party and accept its programme.

The congress gave a fresh impetus to the revolutionary movement in Bulgaria. The party is full of enthusiasm and is inspired with ardent faith in the future. It is prepared for any sacrifice should its enemies endeavour to arrest its victorious march. But we have to remember that the success of the revolutionary movement does not depend on the party alone. It is further subordinated to the regime of occupation established by the Allies who still maintain a strong military force in Bulgaria. In addition it is subject to the course of events in other lands.

Esthonia.

I. THE ECONOMIC SITUATION.

The economic situation of the country is very bad. Industry is utterly disorganised. During the Imperialist war, some of the most important factories, for example those of Reval, employing nearly 15,000 men, had been disorganised. Others had been destroyed, as for instance the leading Esthonian cellulose manufactory at Pernov, employing 3500 men. But even if all the factories had remained in working order, it would have been impossible to keep them running owing to the lack of raw materials and the want of access to the markets. The difficulty of marketing products is so great that even now there is over-production, notably in the case of paper. The cellulose factories have reduced production to the minimum. Speaking generally all the Esthonian factories are working with reduced staffs. Those of Reval are employing only from 500 to 6000 men. The proportion of unemployed is enormous, but no accurate data are available.

Since 1917 the price of commodities has considerably increased. The price of bread is still comparatively low, being one markkaa (twenty pennis (approximately one shilling at the old rate of exchange) per pound by bread ticket entitling the holder to half a pound per diem, and from three markkaas to five markkaas (say half-a-crown to four shillings) per pound uncontrolled. The food crisis is accentuated by the export of potatoes to Finland.

During the autumn of 1918 the workers' wages were fixed in accordance with the tariff drawn up by the Soviet Government a year earlier.

This tariff is still in force, but only in the town of Reval. The workers in the State enterprises of Reval (the dock and railway workshops) were granted an increase when they threatened to strike, and their wages are now twenty markkaas (about 18/-) per diem. This alone is sufficient to show how terrible is the position of those who are at work. As for the unemployed, their fate is indescribable.

The unemployed often lack the funds required to pay for their bread ration. No one troubles to help them.

Most of them are scattered in the hamlets and villages, where they drag out a wretched existence and eagerly await the coming of the Bolsheviks.

The agricultural workers are little better off

In addition to payment in kind (or by rations on the large estates), the agricultural worker receives from 400 to 600 roubles a year. The whole of this sum, which his employer can secure by the sale of from three to four poods (eight to ten stone) of bread, will not suffice to buy the labourer a pair of boots. The landless peasants are in a desperate position. They are literally dying of hunger, for the landed peasants refuse to sell them anything. There was a scarcity of seed last spring, and much of the land lies fallow. This applies chiefly to the estates of the great landowners. The peasants' land for the most part is sown.

II. THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM.

The agrarian problem is of the first importance in Esthonia, for nearly three-fifths of the population live by agriculture. The White Government of Esthonia, the so-called Socialist Government, has done absolutely nothing for the solution of this pressing question. The distribution of land was one of its electoral pledges, and there the matter still rests. In the Constituent Assembly the Mensheviks and the bourgeois decided to take over, paying compensation, all the arable estates above 375 acres in size, and to parcel them out in lots of from 70 acres to 100 acres.

A few ownerless estates and certain estates belonging to the towns were divided up in this way, the lots being sold at auction as farming land. It need hardly be said that in these cases the land was bought by the "grey barons" - that is to say, by the well-to-do peasants. Some estates were sold without being broken up.

But even this "reform" soon came to an end. The landowners returned next spring and simply removed the new landmarks. Better yet, the Allied resident informed the government that its agrarian policy was manifestly "Bolshevist." Thereupon the policy of agrarian reform was shelved.

III. THE WHITE TERROR.

During the German occupation, the number of persons hanged or shot in Esthonia was not more than a few hundred. Most of these executions were the work of the local White Guard. Towards the autumn of 1918 the German terror ceased.

November was the culmination of "democratic freedom." All political prisoners were set free. In Reval, "The Communist" was published openly without interference, and the council of workers' and soldiers' deputies held its sessions undisturbed.

Soon, however, the White Government of Esthonia was able to organise its forces, and then began to persecute our party unrelentingly, hanging, shooting, and imprisoning.

The worst days of the terror came in February and March. The Reds were killed without trial, by order of the war council. They were arrested in town, village, and country, wherever they could be found.

In the towns, our comrades sought asylum in secret haunts; in the rural districts, they took to the marshes and the forests. It is impossible to ascertain how many lost their lives in the terror, but the number cannot have been less than 2000.

This does not include those who were hanged or shot as suspects, nor does it include the "White" soldiers, executed in large numbers during the mutinies which were continually breaking out in their ranks. In the work of tracking down the victims, and in the executions at the front and elsewhere, the most remorseless were the members of the Finnish White Guard, made up of the off-scourings of society. They slaughtered and pillaged as the fancy took them, without rhyme or reason.

IV. ILLUSIONS CONCERNING THE "INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC."

Hitherto a small minority of the Estonian proletariat and a considerable proportion of the semi-proletariat (poorer peasants, artisans) and small land-owners) had still cherished a few illusions concerning the "democratic republic."

Faith in this "democracy" was at its height in the early part of the present year. After the Red Army had left Estonia, the White Press disseminated all possible falsehoods as to Bolshevik atrocities, while the constitutional parties in the Constituent Assembly agreed in promising peace and land. The party of the "Agrarians" (the Agrarian League) promised to put "40,000 hamlets" at the disposal of the landless peasants. Some of the other political parties vied with the Agrarians in lavishing electoral promises. The Democrats, the Clericals (known as the Celestial League), the Labourists, tried to outdo one another in the field of agrarian reform. During the electoral campaign, the Mensheviks were generous beyond the bounds of possibility, promising the confiscation of all the land in the country, including the chief peasant properties. The poorer peasants were especially attracted by the prospect of a "gratuitous distribution of land with all its appurtenances." The land was promised for the Feast of St. George (April 23rd), and the only fear was lest there should be a lack of surveyors to measure out the lots.

Patriotism attained its zenith. Mobilisation, which hitherto had been at a standstill, now went on swimmingly. The deserters returned to duty—especially those who were unable to hide any longer. The peasant soldiers went back to the front singing patriotic songs.

Everyone was bursting with enthusiasm at the idea of the Constituent Assembly. Only one of our parties, the class-conscious section of the proletariat, boycotted the elections. Most of the workers and the landless peasants voted for the Social Democrats, who were, said these voters, practically the same as the Bolsheviks, and would give land, peace, and freedom "constitutionally," through the instrumentality of the Constituent Assembly.

The Social Democrats secured 32 per cent. of the votes and the Essers 8 per cent. The remainder of the proletarians and the semi-proletarians voted for the Labourists, who had at an earlier date vaguely promised that they would farm out the land, but who now, in rivalry with the Mensheviks, pledged themselves to confiscation.

But the true character of the Constituent Assembly was revealed in its first sittings.

All the parties, with the exception of the Essers, declared that there could be no peace until peace had been made by the Allies. And not a single one of the poorer peasants secured the promised grant of land.

In May a conference of the landless peasants was summoned by the Mensheviks, and those who took part in this assembly were in a gloomy frame of mind. Although there were petty bourgeois elements in the conference, the Socialist Ministers had to listen to the cries which were raised to the effect that only the Bolsheviks would give the peasants land.

In the same month the results of the municipal elections clearly showed that faith in the "democratic" regime was waning. At Reval only 30 per cent. of the electors voted, whereas in April, in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, 60 per cent. had voted. The illusions of the Estonian workers and peasants are rapidly disappearing. Sympathy with Bolshevism spreads among the proletarians and among the poor. Noteworthy in this respect is the attitude of the factory workers in Reval.

Although from June, 1917, onwards many of them had Bolshevik leanings, at all the works where was a minority which sympathised with the workers and the friends of the Allies. During the occupation, and under the White Estonian Government, the numbers of the anti-Bolshevik elements had been increased in every possible way. "Suspects" had been discharged and replaced by submissive workers.

But it is now difficult to find a worker whose sympathies are not Communist.

The resolutions of the party are unanimously acclaimed in the workshops. Many of the workers who used to rail against the Reds now champion Soviet institutions.

Speaking generally, it may be said that the proletariat and the semi-proletariat of Estonia are ripe for insurrection. Everything now depends upon the frame of mind of the soldiers in the Estonian White Army.

V. THE WHITE ARMY

The Estonian divisions were first constituted by the Estonian bourgeoisie after the March revolution. When the November revolution took place they became Bolshevik, and three-fourths of the soldiers voted for our party. But at this time most of the Estonian soldiers were still scattered throughout the various armies of the Tsar, for there had not yet been time to send them to join the Estonian regiments. Knowing little Russian, they could not understand Russian propagandist literature.

On the other hand, Estonian propaganda was ineffective because these soldiers were so widely scattered. Thus most of the veterans who now form the nucleus of the Estonian White Army know very little about the programme of our party. Moreover, the Communist programme was practically unknown to the prisoners of war who returned direct to Estonia without passing through Russia.

In the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the majority of the soldiers voted for the Mensheviks. They, too, have now lost their illusions concerning the Constituent Assembly. The soldiers at the front often tell the Red deserters that they are making fools of themselves in coming over to the Whites, the divisions stationed at Reval are turning Bolshevik.

There can be no doubt that a notable proportion of the soldiers is on our side. But submission is enforced by rigid discipline. Mutinies, which are of frequent occurrence, are ruthlessly suppressed.

Half Bolshevik though it is in sympathies, the Estonian army has considerable value as a fighting force. This is explained by the fact that it contains so large a proportion of officers. In the Tsarist armies there were many cultured Estonians.

Having attained commissioned rank, these officers are now fighting for "independence." It is reckoned that there is one officer to every ten rankers. But the influence of the officers is lessening. The general opinion is that the Estonian Whites will inevitably be defeated, and that their defeat will be followed by the massacre of the officers.

Though many of the most active among our comrades have been imprisoned or shot, the party propaganda goes on vigorously in town and countryside. "The Communist," the party organ, is secretly printed. Nearly 200,000 copies have been circulated between November, 1918, and the present date. This number printed off each week ranging from 5000 to 10,000. It finds its way everywhere, and circulates among the soldiers. During the printers' strike, the Ministers complained in the Constituent Assembly that of all the newspapers "The Communist" was the only one which was being printed.

VI. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

We can confidently assert that a powerful revolutionary movement is beginning in Esthonia. Bolshevism is now influencing all the elements which were formerly refractory.

The workers are ready to rise directly the word is given; but in the army, which is the chief support of the White Government, revolutionary insurrections are still too weak to make headway against discipline.

Riots, and refusal to obey orders, are of frequent occurrence; but there is still a lack of revolutionary enthusiasm among the soldiers, all the more seeing that the volunteer divisions, Esthonian, Finnish, and Danish, are ever ready to stifle any attempt at insurrection.

M. L.

June 23, 1919.

Trade Unionism in Esthonia.

During the German occupation of Esthonia, all the labour organisations were broken up by the military authorities. The trade unions have had to begin their work over again under the most difficult conditions. The White Government, dreading the massed power of the workers, has done its utmost to hinder the growth of trade unions, employing repressive measures of every possible kind. In the case of the trade-union leaders, domiciliary search and arrests are of almost daily occurrence.

Nevertheless, within a comparatively brief period, powerful unions have been organised, and their work is closely integrated by a central trade-union council.

The events of the first of May afford a striking illustration of the vitality of the organised workers and of the attitude of the White Government. The unions had determined to celebrate the international festival of the proletariat by a 24-hour strike, by a number of meetings, and by a peaceful demonstration with red flags. The government made the strike impossible by declaring May 1st a national holiday, and by prohibiting all outdoor meetings.

The Mensheviks issued an appeal to the workers, informing them that the persons who were organising public demonstrations were a gang of shady adventurers. "Celebrate the international festival in your own homes."

A demonstration was organised none the less, and the trade-union headquarters were decked with red flags. Armed police broke up the demonstration and tore down the flags.

The economic position of the workers grew worse day by day. Discontent was rife. The scheme of collective bargaining drawn up by the unions in April was rejected by the Employers' Federation. On May 2nd the printers went on strike. The only periodicals to appear were the organs of the Communist Party and a few clandestine prints. A general strike was imminent.

The Menshevik publican Government, which had looked on passively when at an earlier date the employers had locked out their men, now had recourse to the most barbarous methods in order to suppress the strike. The date before the date fixed for the cessation of work; the executive committee of the central trade-union council and the strike committee were arrested. The strikers were threatened with court-martial. To inflame public opinion against the strikers it was officially announced that the central trade-union council had been sold four millions by the Russian Soviet Government to organise a general strike for

political ends. Despite these measures, a partial strike took place, affecting most of the factories for several days. Hoping to sow discord among the workers by the creation of a favoured labour caste, the wages of the operatives in State employ were increased by 25 per cent. The unions refused the bribe, and resolved to organise a second general strike, having first carried out a referendum to ascertain the real feeling of the workers. All the trade unions in Reval declared a boycott of the Press organ issued by the Menshevik traitors to Socialism.

In the beginning of July, before the referendum, a strike occurred among the railwaymen. The members of the central trade-union council were again arrested, and the referendum was forbidden. Some of the railwaymen on strike were arrested and called to the colours; the others were forced back to work on pain of being shot. These repressive measures, the food crisis and the industrial crisis (which were both growing more acute), and the war with Soviet Russia, combined to favour the spread of revolutionary sentiments among the class-conscious workers.

Partial strikes were of frequent occurrence in the various factories.

THE TRADE-UNION CONFERENCE.

It was essential that the organised workers of Esthonia should be able to make their wishes known. A conference of the trade unions and the agricultural labourers' societies was called for August 30th and 31st by the central trade-union council. Forty thousand workers, grouped in 116 unions, were represented. Notwithstanding the increasingly active Menshevik propaganda, and despite the fact that the workers' periodicals were now clandestine, the Mensheviks were in an insignificant minority at the conference. Among the 415 delegates, 33 only were Mensheviks, and even these withdrew as soon as the agenda had been announced. The conference was informed that, the day before the opening, the British military mission had suggested to the central trade-union council that this body should carry out a coup d'état and should establish a "Labour" government similar to the British Government. The military mission promised to support. In answer to this provocation, the conference unanimously voted a demand that the reprobates of the British mission should be expelled from Esthonia, and announced that the workers had absolutely no need to seek support from the White generals of the Entente.

The resolutions passed at the conference recognised that the proletarian revolution was imminent and that the dictatorship of the proletariat was essential. When the polled officers present at the conference declared that Hellat, the Social Democrat, Minister for Home Affairs, had ordered the dissolution of the conference, a resolution demanding the immediate opening of peace negotiations with Soviet Russia was carried unanimously. The conference was broken up by force of arms, some of the delegates being actually arrested in the hall. Fifty-three of the delegates were expelled from Esthonia together with twenty-three workers arrested at their homes; all of these were deported to Soviet Russia. Twenty-six among the arrested delegates were detained at the front by the White Guards, and there is considerable reason to believe that they were shot. The Russian proletariat gave the deportees an enthusiastic welcome. It is our hope that proletarians throughout the world will endorse this welcome; it is our hope that when, by joint effort, we have destroyed the Old World, we shall combine to create a New World of our own.

ONE OF THE DEPORTERS.

America.

THE FOUNDATION OF A COMMUNIST PARTY.

The Socialist Party of America, led by the notorious traitors to Socialism, Algernon Lee and Maurice Hillquit, has long been ripe for a split. On April 9th, seven of the party representatives voted for the fourth Liberty Loan. This action aroused a storm of indignation in the Left wing, which demanded that the satellites of the government should be expelled from the party. Shortly afterwards, a number of Left-wing members of the New York branch led by Larkin, McAlpin, Fraina, and Reed, published the Manifesto-Programme of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. The most noteworthy passage in this document runs as follows:

"In the beginning of August, 1914, the world had the aspect of a volcano about to erupt. The periodic succession of violent explosions heralded a catastrophe; but the diplomatists and statesmen did their best to localise the disturbances; while the masses in every case, after some slight stirring, relapsed into lethargic slumber, troubled only by vague apprehensions and gloomy forebodings, what time the subterranean fires were growing ever fiercer.

"Many had blind faith in the wisdom of the governments, and in the powerful influence of Christianity uniting in fraternal ties the peoples of the civilised world. Others put their trust in the growing strength of the international Socialist movement. The German Social Democrats and the French Socialists exchanged telegrams solemnly pledging themselves not to participate in the war should war be declared by their respective governments. If instead of sending telegrams the Socialists of these countries had organised a general strike, they would doubtless have been able to make the governments hear reason.

The Social Democrats failed to do their duty, and the war broke out. "Revolutionary Socialism," the manifesto goes on to say, "was not for long content to remain passive. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg, and Otto Ruhle founded the Spartacus Group. But their voices were drowned by the roar of the cannon and by the groans of the mutilated and the dying."

Subsequently the authors of the manifesto express their emphatic disagreement with the Socialists of the Right upon the matter of party tactics. The Socialists of the Right are doing everything in their power to counteract the revolution which is ripening among the masses. But the manifesto declares that the universal support of this same revolution is "the essential problem before the party."

The manifesto subjects the League of Nations to pitiless criticism, showing that the League is merely a new form of "Imperialist capitalism." It warns the workers against putting their trust in "bourgeois reforms," which are instituted for the sole purpose of quenching revolutionary fire. The American capitalists wish to make use of the labour organisations for their own Imperialist aims. "We are convinced that in the near future our capitalists will begin to talk, like Bismarck, of the absolute necessity of instituting labour legislation, with State insurance for old age and unemployment. They will institute various other bourgeois reforms whose purpose it is to fit the workers as instruments for supplying the capitalists with the maximum of profit in the shortest possible time."

The manifesto insists that the centre of gravity of Socialist work is not to be found in the Parliamentary activities of representatives of the working class, but in the direct action of the masses. The Socialist Party, therefore, must deliberately guide the class struggle of

the workers, and must formulate a clear-cut programme to be realised by the coming proletarian revolution. The following is such a programme:

1. The organisation of workers' councils, propaganda on behalf of the Soviet idea; the extending of a helping hand to all such working-class mass organisations as are really of the Soviet type, to all such organisations as are well-suited for the direct carrying on of the class struggle, for the seizure of the power of the State, and for the foundation of a new proletarian State which shall organise all the workers and be the instrument of proletarian dictatorship.

2. Self-government in industry realised through the industrial organisations of the workers (industrial unions or industrial councils), this being the antithesis of nationalisation and the State control of industry.

3. Repudiation of national and municipal debts, with compensation for the holders of small parcels of stock.

4. Expropriation of the banks as a first step towards the complete expropriation of capital.

5. Expropriation of the railways and of all the trusts, without compensation—for compensation would enable the capitalists to continue the exploitation of the workers. But the owners of small-scale undertakings must be furnished with the means of livelihood during the transition period.

6. Socialisation of foreign commerce.

The Left-wing Socialists did not let matters rest with the publication of this manifesto. In addition they instituted energetic revolutionary propaganda. During April they founded in New York a journal to voice their views, "The Communist." This is edited by John Reed; McAlpin, Gurvitch, and B. Gitlow are on the editorial staff. Two other organs represent the same trend: "The Revolutionary Age," edited by Louis Fraina; and "The Liberator," edited by Max Eastman.

These revolutionary activities on the part of the U.S. Communists have aroused the fierce hostility of the Right-wing leaders, who accuse the Communists of infringing party discipline, of founding secret organisations within the party, and so on. In the end, the national executive council of the Socialist Party of America decided to expel a number of foreign groups and Left-wing organisations. This reduced the membership of the party by more than half.

The Left-wing organisations then summoned their own congress, which opened in New York on June 22nd. It was decided to found a new party, to be known as the Communist Party. A programme was adopted substantially identical with that detailed above. As far as Parliamentarism is concerned, we may quote the following passage from the programme: "We do not repudiate the Parliamentary struggle; we shall participate in electoral campaigns, shall run candidates for Congress, and for various other positions in social life. But we participate in the Parliamentary struggle only in so far as our representatives in Congress can be considered agitators, preaching the ideas of the social revolution."

Unfortunately we have no information as to the decision adopted concerning adherence to the Third International. All we know is that the question was on the agenda.

Nor have we any information as to the numerical strength of the party. It is quite possible that the party has not yet assumed the character of an organisation of the masses. But in the epoch of universal history upon which we have now entered, every great movement of the toiling masses and the oppressed invariably assumes a Communist form and inevitably culminates in a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This juncture, America may be described as an erupting volcano. Strikes follow one another senseless, many of the States there have been armed revolts among the negroes who demand equal rights with the whites.

100,000 fully armed re-Americans took part in what amounted to actual battles in the streets of Chicago. The revolt was led by coloured ex-soldiers back from the front.

We have to remember that the coloured population of the U.S. is estimated at \$2,000,000, and that two of the revolutionary watchwords, "Equality before the Law," and "Humane Treatment," are greatly appreciated by these oppressed millions.

We are confident that our American comrades will unite into a single stream the scattered torrents of the mass movement, throw them free from foreign bodies, and will break the lava crust which has formed upon the surface. Then, from the rumbling volcano of the capitalist order there will escape a brilliant and mighty jet of flame which will consume all the obstacles in its path, and will crystallise, as it cools, to form a new society of labour.

Y.

THE RAILWAY STRIKE.

A strike of railwaymen occurred at the end of July. It began in Chicago where it involved at first about 100,000 men, spreading thence to Boston, Philadelphia, and Detroit. By the beginning of August the strike had become general.

The strikers made the following demands: increase in wages to make up for rise in prices; an eight-hour day; nationalisation of the railways. Lusk, president of one of the railwaymen's unions, issued a declaration containing the following passage: "In the U.S., the revolution will take place much sooner than most people expect. Government and Congress know nothing of what is going on in the country; rising prices are leading to revolution. The workers will not put up with it any longer. Government and Congress had better cease fooling. It is dangerous to play with fire. As to the nationalisation of the railways, this is a matter upon which the workers will make no concessions. They refuse to go on working for capitalists. They want to work for the public good."

President Wilson sent a special message to Congress, declaring that the question of a rise in prices had now become the problem of the hour, taking precedence of the League of Nations and the peace treaty. He asked for the urgent passing of a law to increase the railwaymen's wages, with a proportional increase in fares. At the same time he requested Congress to appoint a special committee to discuss the question of nationalisation. The committee was to consist of fifteen members, five nominated by the President, five elected by Congress, and five appointed by the railwaymen's unions.

It will readily be understood that the general strike on the railways was disastrous to the industrial life of the U.S. The capitalist Press sounded the alarm, but it is noteworthy that not a single newspaper demanded repressive measures. With one voice they insisted upon the need for concession. These, they said, must be far-reaching, even involving workers' control in one form or another.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST "RADICALISM" AND "BOLSHEVISM."

The growth of the revolutionary movement among the workers has given rise to a whole network of patriotic organisations to fight "radicalism" and "Bolshevism." Government and Congress are helping in the campaign.

A. Mitchell Palmer, Minister for Justice, has presented Congress a number of bills for the organisation of a reserve, of an auxiliary secret service, etc. Congress has voted \$3,000,000 for the fight against "radicalism," and has decreed the immediate expulsions of "dangerous elements." In the middle of July there were deported two groups of Anarchists, Syndicalists,

and Bolsheviks. They were of various nationalities—Italian, Spanish, Swedish, British, Irish, etc. They numbered 80 persons in all. As for the Russians concerning whom a deportation order has been issued, they are to be kept in prison "until the blockade of Russia has been raised."

On the initiative of the Minister for Justice, there has likewise been founded the "American Legion," which aims at the extirpation of radicalism and Bolshevism by any and every means. The branches of this body in the southern and western States have organised a number of sanguinary onslaughts on the coloured population. In St. Louis and other cities, bands of hoodlums financed from an unknown source have fallen upon negroes "infected with Bolshevism." A corollary of these pogroms has been a savage and provocative Press campaign. Colonel Villesbourn, president of the American Legion, declares: "We shall not shrink from lynching, nor from measures yet more severe." The primary aim of the organisation is to bring about in this or that great industrial centre mass demonstrations of the workers. The members of the league will then be able to show their patriotism by drowning the demonstrations in blood.

At Rochester, early in July, Flinn, chief of the secret police, presided over a conference of police superintendents from all the great centres in the U.S. to discuss "The struggle against Bolshevism, Anarchy, and radicalism." The upshot of this conference was the issue of a series of decrees arranging for the immediate organisation of police reserves, for the mobilisation of the militia, for an extension of the activities of the secret police, and so on.

In New York State a special committee sits under the presidency of Senator Lusk to "conduct an enquiry into Bolshevism." Supplementing the activities of the secret police, this committee has attacked all the workingmen's clubs in New York, has ordered a number of domiciliary searches, and has effected many arrests. Its aim has been to terrorise the working classes of the State.

The committee distinguished itself first of all by ordering a search to be made at the Rand School of Social Science (a popular Socialist university), and at the Russian Soviet Bureau. At both, seizures were made of papers, letters, literature, etc. The ready cash in the safe was not forgotten. Senator Lusk personally examined Martens, the Soviet envoy, and his fellow workers. Attempts were made to create a scare, the yellow bourgeois Press lending its aid by publishing sensational items about the "anti-government plots of the Soviet embassy." The newspapers reproduced letters addressed by Comrade Martens and by Comrade S. Nourteva, secretary to the Embassy, to various "highly-placed personages"—letters asking that the Soviet Government should be recognised. Neither Senator Lusk's efforts nor the Press campaign led to anything of note. With the best will in the world, it was impossible to cook a conspiracy implicating the Russian Soviet Bureau. No grounds could be discovered for the arrest of Martens and the other members of the mission.

The raid on the Rand School proved equally futile, and no prosecution could be instituted.

BOLSHEVIST MEETINGS.

The Russian Soviet Bureau organised a monster meeting in New York City at the end of July. It was a great success, being attended by more than 16,000 persons. The chair was taken by Frederick C. Howe, a personal friend of Wilson and a member of the Ministry of Labour, but a democrat of the Left. Among the speakers were some bourgeois radicals who demanded the immediate raising of the Russian blockade and the recognition of the Soviet Government. It is worthy of

note that the day after the meeting the question of the struggle against "middle-class Bolshevism" was raised in the Senate. A motion was filed for the suspension of Frederick C. Howe's salary.

SOVIETIST LITERATURE IN AMERICA.

The Press section of the Russian Soviet Bureau publishes a weekly bulletin dealing with the creative organising work of the Soviet Government. In the beginning of July it undertook the issue of a bi-weekly journal entitled "Soviet Russia." In New York City the Left wing Socialist organisation publishes "The Communist," edited by John Reed, and devoted almost exclusively to Russia. The Rand School of Social Science has issued a number of pamphlets on Lenin, Trotsky, Kollontai, etc. "The New York American," a bourgeois newspaper, published in extenso Comrade Lenin's speech at the inaugural congress of the Communist International.

There is no lack of anti-Bolshevist literature in America. For example, early in July there was founded a monthly magazine, "United Russia." Among the contributors may be mentioned Breshkovskaya, Kerenski, Bublikov, and Zenzinov.

UNEMPLOYMENT

According to official statistics compiled by the Ministry for War, there were in the U.S. on July 1st 258,000 demobilised soldiers without employment.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN CANADA.

Very little news concerning the revolutionary movement in Canada has come to hand since the account of the great strikes mentioned in No. 4 of the "Communist International." "The Times" of September 4th speaks of a split in the Canadian trade unions. A number of workmen have left the old unions and have formed new ones, which have been consolidated in "One Big Union." The strikes are over in some regions, but in the great industrial centres the movement continues.

A. M.

Britain.

THE PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE AND DIRECT ACTION.

The nineteenth Labour Party congress began at Stockport on June 25th. The number of delegates was 1960, this figure being unprecedentedly large. It is stated that the membership of the party and the number of trade unions affiliated to it have greatly increased during the last two years.

Among the various questions discussed at the congress, the one which was most keenly debated was the following: "Should the strike weapon be used for the attainment of a definite political end?" The discussion was by no means theoretical in character. For some months the British proletariat has been faced with three practical problems of primary importance, problems whose solution is subordinate to the solution of another fundamental question, the admissibility or inadmissibility of direct action. The three problems are: compulsory military service; armed intervention in Russia; and the nationalisation of the mines and railways. Thus the basic question as to whether the strike should be used as a means of political struggle, has become one of extreme practical importance. It is natural that the attention of the British Labour movement should be concentrated upon this point.

The old party leaders endeavoured to prove that the political strike is the repudiation of the essential basis of democracy—namely, Parliamentarism. The workers, they contend, can easily secure everything, by means of the Parliamentary struggle. Nothing more is requisite than that the Labour Party should secure a Parliamentary majority, and this will be quite easy. The new leaders, comparatively young men, maintain on the other hand that the war has proved the futility of the Parliamentary struggle. The peace, they say, the brigands' peace of Versailles, has shown the same thing yet more plainly. The era of the Parliamentary struggle, they declare, has long since passed away. In the present crisis, to renounce direct action would, they insist, be to renounce the class struggle. When the matter was put to the vote after an animated discussion, the congress, by an enormous majority, declared in favour of the permissibility and suitability of political strikes.

The political general strike is on the way in Britain. The question has been referred to all the Labour organisations. Beyond question an enormous majority will vote in its favour. The results of the vote will be made known in the beginning of September. The police 15th of the same month the Trade Union Congress began to open. Most probably this congress will be the first to the strike to begin and will institute all the necessary measures for its organisation. It is, of course, possible that the "old leaders" will be able to limit the strike to a 24-hour demonstration, which will be tantamount to making it abortive.

It is worth noting that no disagreement exists as far as concerns the objects which the workers may hope to attain by the strike. The old leaders, men like Henderson, Clynes, and others, who belong to the extreme right, agree with the young leaders upon this question. All alike insist that the Military Service Act must be repealed, that the blockade of Russia must be raised, and that the mines and railways must be nationalised. Henderson was not present at the Labour Party congress, but a letter was read in which he declared that at this juncture the party must concentrate its energies primarily upon the attainment of these three aims. Thus, he wrote, the party would show its strength; this would be the first step towards victory in the next general election. Henderson is in fact confident that at the next election the victory of the Labour Party will be decisive, and that he himself or some other member of the party will succeed Lloyd George as Premier.

THE MINERS' STRIKE.

The strike of the Yorkshire miners continues, and it has caused a coal crisis affecting manufacturing industry throughout the country. Many of the pits have been flooded. On August 1st it was estimated that the strike had reduced the supply of coal by 1,000,000 tons. We read in the "Times" a telegram from Sheffield announcing that one factory after another as that town was being closed for lack of coal, and a telegram from Birmingham stating that fifty large works employing 25,000 workmen in all had been compelled to shut down for the same reason. The textile industry was likewise being seriously affected.

The miners are demanding a 30-hour week with an increased rate of pay, so that the reduction of the working day shall not entail a reduction of the weekly wage. The Government has recognised the justice of these demands, but the mineowners still refuse to accede to them.

THE RISE IN PRICES.

The "Times" of August 4th gives the following as to the rise in the prices of the prime necessities:

life (the rise is stated in percentages as from June, 1914, to June, 1918):

| | Britain. | U.S.A. |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| Food | 100 per cent. | 60 per cent. |
| Clothing | 85 " | 82 " |
| Rent | 20.5 " | 11 " |
| Fuel | 144 " | 79 " |

But since June, 1918, prices have almost doubled, and according to the "Times" "the rise goes on from day to day with extraordinary speed." The paper declares that in Britain as in the U.S. the Government proves impotent to deal with the high cost of living and to check speculation.

Wages (real wages) continue to fall. In the same issue of the "Times" we find the following table. The figures 100 is supposed to represent the minimum requisite for the support of average workers:

| | Wages of an Average Worker. |
|-------------|--------------------------------|
| 1907 | 100 |
| 1914 | 99 |
| 1916 | 93 |
| 1918 | 77 |

But fear of exaggeration, we may say that to-day there has fallen to 60 or even to 50, and that the continues.

A. M.

Sweden.

THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE LEFT WING OF THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The third congress of the Left wing of the Swedish Social Democratic Party was held in Stockholm from the 12th to the 17th of June. The party has been in existence for two years. Last year its progress was phenomenal, and it now has 25,000 members. Affiliated to it at first there were 100 organisations. The number is now 600. The party publishes 16 dailies and one magazine. The Swedish Social Democratic League of Youth, with 25,000 members, is an autonomous body, but has co-operated with the Social Democratic Left, and shares its principles and practice. A few days before the June congress of the Social Democratic Left, the League of Youth, by an almost unanimous vote, decided to join the Third International.

Two hundred and twenty-three persons took part in the congress, and of these 237 were duly accredited delegates. Among the guests and fraternal delegates the celebrated writer Andersen-Neksa, author of the well-known proletarian epic "Pelle the Conqueror," was present as fraternal delegate from the Danish Socialist Labour Party. At the 1918 congress it had been resolved that the next congress should not be held until 1920; but the third congress was summoned as an extraordinary congress for the discussion of tactics or, to speak more precisely, for the discussion of the party attitude towards Bolshevism. The question had recently become acute. After "Red Sunday," March 2nd, the majority of the Parliamentary group issued an official protest against an unduly "Bolshevist" resolution brought forward by the central committee of the party.

For a considerable time, two distinct trends had been met in the party: the Bolshevik revolutionary trend, on the one hand; and the moderate trend, on the other, which is supported also by the small group of "humanists" led by Burgomaster Lindhagen. The bourgeois Press and the Press of the traitors to Socialism were exultant, flattering themselves with the hope a split was imminent. The Swedish Bolsheviks, or

Spartacists, they declared, comprised merely the Stockholm group which had gained control of the "Politiken" (the central organ of the party) and of the central committee. But the majority of the party they maintained, the members throughout the country, Stockholm alone excepted, corresponded to the German Independents, continued to accept the Parliamentary platform, and so on. The congress showed plainly enough how little truth there was in all these assertions. After three days' discussion, a resolution on tactics was voted. Five draft resolutions in all had been put forward, but they may be summarised under two heads, representative of the two trends, namely, the point of view of the central committee, and that of the Parliamentary group. The congress voted the resolution drawn up by the standing orders committee, based on the draft of the central committee, but added important emendations drawn from a resolution proposed by Comrades Grimlund and Chillbaum which was supported by more than fifty of the delegates. By a majority of 186 to 22, amid enthusiasm, the congress decided to join the Third International. The delegates sang "The International," and the hall resounded with cheers for the Communist International.

By a further vote it was agreed by 124 votes to 84 that the adhesion to the Third International should be unconditional.

A vote was now taken on the three other draft resolutions. The resolution of the humanists, proposed by Lindhagen, secured only 19 votes; the draft resolution of the standing orders committee secured 132 votes as against 69 cast for the Moderates' resolution. Thus the Bolshevik trend secured a brilliant victory.

The resolution passed by the congress will be found on pp. 57 and 58.

This resolution bears eloquent witness to the victory of the Bolsheviks over the Independents and the Moderates. The significance of the victory has been confirmed in the choice of the Parliamentary candidates and in the election of the central committee. The Parliamentary candidates numbered 8 extremists and 2 Moderates. On the central committee there will be 4 extremists and 1 Moderate. The Moderate on this committee is Hague; the other four members are the well-known Communists Z. Hoglund, K. Chillbaum, O. Grimlund, and Carlsson. F. Stroem, substitute to the representative to Soviet Russia, was elected secretary; and Svensson was elected treasurer. Both of these comrades belong to the extreme Left.

Among the resolutions passed by the congress should be mentioned the manifesto to the Swedish proletariat and the proletariat of all capitalist lands. This, which was carried unanimously, urges the working class to boycott the countries making war upon Soviet Russia and upon Hungary, in order to support the proletarian revolution in all lands; for this revolution is merely the opening phase of the universal revolution. The manifesto ends with the following words: "Long live the international solidarity of the workers! Hail to the impending universal revolution!"

Another manifesto, likewise carried unanimously, is addressed to the Swedish people and deals with the circumstances of the hour. It is worthy of close attention. In this manifesto the policy of the extant Liberal and Socialist Swedish Government and of the Parliament which mainly represents a coalition of the traitors to Socialism with the bourgeoisie, is subjected to stringent criticism. The closing words of the manifesto will suffice to indicate its character. They run as follows:

"Down with the political traitor! Down with Ministerial Socialism! Down with corrupt Parliamentarianism of the old kind! Urge your claims everywhere! Close your ranks!"

Finally an important resolution proposed by Comrade Chillbaum was unanimously adopted. This reso-

lution concerns the trade-union movement, and invites the members of the party and its branches to do their utmost to give the trade-union movement a revolutionary turn. Practical means for the furtherance of this end are suggested.

To sum up the work of the congress, we may say that the leftward trend of the Left of the Swedish Social Democracy, its movement towards Communism, has been notably accentuated in the last twelve months.

Despite the prophecies previously referred to, there has been no split. The Moderates, whose views were chiefly voiced by Wennestrom, leader of the Parliamentary group, were content, when the majority of the congress had voted the revolutionary resolutions, to state their reserves concerning their vote in favour of joining the Third International. The Moderates agreed to this admission only in so far as it is in conformity with the programme and tactics of the party.

All the resolutions carried, and all the discussions of the congress, had a Bolshevik character inspired by Comrades Högland, Chillbaum, Stroem, and other "local Bolsheviks."

B.

Norway.

EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The extraordinary congress of the Norwegian Social Democratic Party was held in Christiania on June 7th, 8th, and 9th. Like the congress of the Swiss Socialist Party, it decided by an overwhelming majority to adhere to the Third International. This determination was hailed by enthusiastic cries of "bravo" and by the singing of "The International." It was agreed to send a telegram of fraternal solidarity to Comrade Lenin and another to the Left wing of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. The Right of the Norwegian party, led by Puntervold, brought forward a resolution attacking the central committee and the revolutionary majority of the party. (Puntervold is a "severe critic" of Soviet Russia, and after his return from Moscow he penned a number of pamphlets against the Soviet Republic.) This resolution was rejected by 261 votes to 71. Upon the question of tactics, the central committee's resolution was carried by 275 votes to 63. It is almost identical with the resolution originally drafted by the central committee and published in the month of May. The only change is the addition of a clause to the effect that the question of a Soviet constitution based upon councils of workers, peasants, and fishermen's delegates is to be referred to the special committee of Socialisation formed jointly by the Social Democratic Party and the central committee of the united trade unions.

This committee is to report to the next party congress, fixed for Easter, 1920.

The resolution passed at the June congress stresses the fact that extant political institutions are incompetent to achieve the realisation of Socialism. The opportunist minority, having been utterly routed, determined to form an opposition Social Democratic group. Buechi, President of the Storting, was elected president of this group. Its real leader is Puntervold.

Thus the congress of the revolutionary Social Democratic Party of Norway hoisted the flag of Bolshevism. The number of delegates was 335, without counting the Parliamentary group.

Italy.

The atmosphere of Italy is so strongly charged with class hatred that strikes and street fights often occur for the most trivial reasons. At Turin, for example, on the evening of Sunday, August 3rd, a number of Socialist workers' children were coming home from an excursion. At one of the street corners a policeman stopped the children, declaring that demonstrations in the streets were prohibited. A young man who was conducting the party went up to the policeman and, having explained who the children were, begged the constable to allow the harmless procession to go on its way. But the representative of authority rudely told the interlocutor to mind his own business. The young man stuck to his point. A crowd speedily collected, and sided with the children. The "guardian of the peace," losing his temper, fired towards the crowd, arrested the young man, and took him to the police station. The crowd, growing ever larger, followed, and, seeing that the young man did not reappear, began to bombard the police station with volleys of stones. A detachment of police twenty strong emerged from the station and fired on the crowd. Several were killed and a great many wounded. The committee of the Socialist Party hastily summoned a meeting, which was largely attended. At this meeting it was agreed, as a protest, to declare a 24-hour strike. On the day of the strike, the workers organised demonstrations in the streets. The nationalist elements of the bourgeoisie organised counter-demonstrations. Serious and sanguinary conflicts ensued between these rival demonstrations, and street fighting continued for several days.

At Trieste, now occupied by Italian troops, a collision took place on August 3rd between the workers and the police. Many of the workers were wounded, and two of them have since died. Here, too, the Italian nationalists organised a counter-demonstration. Escorted by soldiers, they forced their way into the People's House of the Slovene workers and insisted upon the hoisting of the Italian flag. Then, in a fit of access of patriotic fervour, they wrecked the Slovene lecture hall, breaking up all the furniture and destroying many of the books. They also sacked the shops and the offices of the Slovene journal "Liberty" and wrecked several labour colleges. They demonstrated in front of one of the People's Houses, in which the executive committee of a labour organisation was sitting at the time, and the police, alleging a shot had been fired on the crowd from one of the windows, arrested all the members of the committee. When the metalworkers of Milan learned of the happenings in Trieste, they called a protest strike. Next day the workers of nearly all the factories in Bergamo joined the strike. The metalworkers of Genoa followed suit. Ere long the strike spread over all Liguria, Tuscany, and Lombardy. The factory owners replied by a lock-out.

The strike of the metalworkers was followed by the strike of the seamen, who demanded an increase of wages of frs. 100 per month. The seamen were supported by the staffs of the shipping companies, and a telegram from Milan dated August 7th reported that the Italian shipping trade was at that time completely arrested.

Spain.

The revolutionary ferment is spreading among Spanish workers. Since October, 1918, through industrial regions of Catalonia, and above all celona, a tendency towards the unification of v

